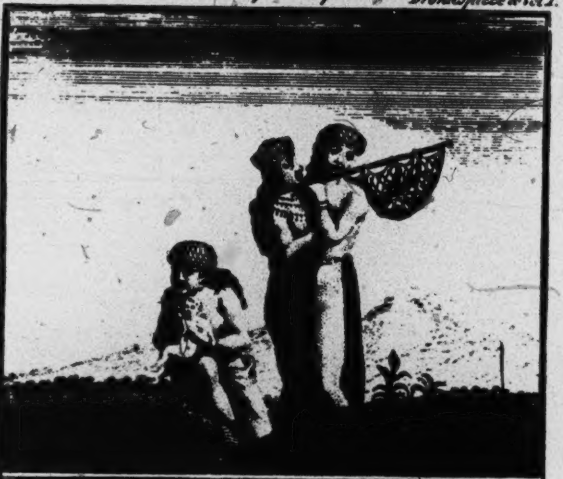
XEROX

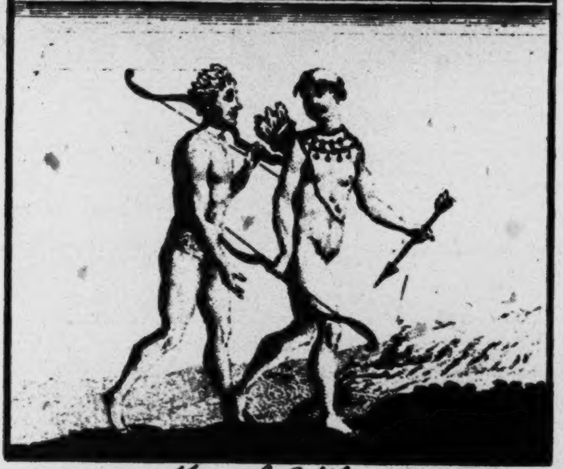
Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Women of California Frontispiece to Vol. I.





Men of California.

A NATURAL and CIVIL HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA:

CONTAINING

An accurate Deſcription of that COUNTRY,
Its Soil, Mountains, Harbours, Lakes, Rivers,
and Seas; its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals,
and famous Fiſhery for Pearls.

THE

CUSTOMS of the INHABITANTS,
Their Religion, Government, and Manner of Living,
before their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion by
the miſſionary Jeſuits.

TOGETHER WITH

Accounts of the ſeveral Voyages and Attempts made for
ſettling California, and taking actual Surveys of that
Country, its Gulf, and Coaſt of the South-Sea.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Copper Plates, and an accurate Map of the Country and
the adjacent Seas.

Tranſlated from the original Spaniſh of MIGUEL VENEGAS, a Mexican Jeſuit, publiſhed at Madrid 1758.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL I.

LONDON:
Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER,
at the Oxford Theatre, in Pater-Noſter-Row. 1759.

PREFACE.

THE country of California, taking that denomination in its moſt extenſive ſenſe, has been long diſcovered; notwithſtanding which, it was till lately, but very imperfectly known. Other nations have viſited its coaſts as well as the Spaniards; but as they only touched upon them, a true and full deſcription of this vaſt region could be expected from the Spaniards alone. The firſt accounts publiſhed by them, repreſented it truly, and as it is, a peninſula; but upon the authority of a Spaniſh chart, found accidentally by the Dutch, and of the authenticity of which, there never were, or indeed could be, any proofs obtained, an opinion prevailed, that California was an iſland, and the contrary aſſertion was treated even by the ableſt geographers, as a vulgar error. The famous Deliſle very judiciouſly controverted this notion, and very ably as well as very ingeniouſly, ſhewed that there were not lights ſufficient at the time he wrote for the deciſion of the point. In this indeterminate ſtate, the thing ſtood till the beginning of the preſent century, when father Kino publiſhed his diſcovery, founded on his paſſage by land, from New Mexico into California; by which it appeared that the Vermillion ſea was no more than a gulf or bay, though of a large extent, and that California was really a peninſula, as the earlier Spaniſh writers had deſcribed it. Thus we ſee that old opinions, more eſpecially when they are grounded on matters of fact, are not to be haſtily rejected, that inquiſitive and even judicious men are capable of being miſled; and that the authority of actual diſcoverers, in queſtions of this ſort, is ſingly to be regarded.

In conſequence of its being ſo imperfectly examined, ſeveral other contradictions, or at leaſt ſeeming contradictions, have been advanced concerning it. There are relations, which make the coaſts of California intolerable, from the piercing cold. There are again accounts, which ſay theſe coaſts are inſupportably hot. Some repreſent it as a region ſterile, void of water, and not only unimproved, but unimproveable chiefly from this defect. Others ſpeak of it, as fruitful, pleaſant, and having very fine rivers. Complaints are made of its ſhores, as difficult and dangerous, embarraſſed with rocks and ſhoals, and without ſo much as tolerable ports. In oppoſition to theſe, we find it celebrated for a fine beautiful country towards the ſea, into which ſeveral large rivers fall, at the entrance of which are many large and fertile iſlands, and both in them and the continent, ſeveral ſafe and very commodious havens. The variations are as great, in reference to the worth, as in regard to the face of this extenſive peninſula; if we rely on ſome writers, it is a poor barren deſpicable tract, which ſcarce deſerves the protection it has met with. Yet as good judges, and who had equal opportunities of being acquainted with it, alledge, that it is capable of various kinds of cultivation, that there are inconteſtible marks of its containing rich mines, and that there is a profitable pearl fiſhery upon the coaſt. The inhabitants alſo have been painted in the moſt different colours, as ignorant, brutiſh, and irreclaimable by ſome, and on the contrary, as docile, courteous, and hoſpitable, by others. As applied to different places, and under different circumſtances, there is little of falſhood in any of theſe accounts, but taken generally there is as little in them of truth.

But the principal point that has been always had in view, with reſpect to this country, is its boundary towards the north, which has never yet been aſcertained. There has been mention made of a country, and of a ſtrait of Anian, which is ſuppoſed to ſeparate it from Aſia. Others have affirmed, that California continually ſtretching to the north weſt, approached very near to the north eaſt of Tartary, and that the ſtraits of Anian were to be ſought on that ſide. Some again have affirmed, theſe ſtraits are altogether imaginary, and have talked of proofs, founded on facts, that Indians, converted to the chriſtian faith by the Spaniards, have paſſed by land into China, the truth of which however, has been deſervedly queſtioned. Many think there is an open ſea between the north eaſt of Aſia, and the north weſt of America, while others are perſuaded, that this is only true in part, and that though there may be a ſea; yet that this ſea has in it a multitude of iſlands of different ſizes. All theſe, however, are no better than conjectures, upon which no great ſtreſs is to be laid, and therefore we muſt wait for the ſolution of the queſtion, till the ſame ſpirit of diſcovery that brought us firſt acquainted with the Indies and with America, reveals to us, with equal certainty, whether it is ſea or land, or a mixture of both, that intervenes between thoſe two mighty continents.

It is requiſite to obſerve, that this is far from being a matter of idle ſpeculation, ſo far from it, there are very few diſquiſitions that can be juſtly ſtiled of greater conſequence; as rational beings, it concerns us to have a perfect and complete notion of the globe which we inhabit, and we ſee that in this reſpect, providence has very wiſely given the ſpur of curioſity, to the purſuit of what is our real intereſt. As the ſubjects of a maritime power, we have the greater concern in it, ſince every diſcovery of this kind muſt affect our navigation or commerce, nearly or remotely. But with reſpect to this before us, it is of the utmoſt importance, ſince all our attempts for the finding a north weſt paſſage, have been only in other words, finding a new rout to the coaſts of California, which if we are ever happy enough to find, will open to us a ſhort way, as well to a new Indies as to the old. Now the ſureſt means of making ſuch a diſcovery effectually, is by proceeding from the known to the unknown; and therefore the firſt plain, proper, and natural ſtep, is to attain a clear and exact account of California, ſo far as it is diſcovered, which we could only hope from the Spaniards, and which this author has given us in the fulleſt, plaineſt, and moſt accurate method that we could poſſibly deſire. This is the ſole object, this is the true merit of the book, which though not a work of amuſement and entertainment, is full of inſtruction and information, and in that light, no doubt, will be a moſt acceptable preſent to the publick, as will ſufficiently appear, if we conſider the plan of this writer's performance.

He divides his treatiſe into four parts. In the firſt, he diſcourſes of the name, ſituation, and extent of California, that is, taking it in the ſtrict ſenſe, for ſo much of this peninſula, as the Spaniards have hitherto reduced. He gives us an account of the gulf, its coaſts, and iſlands. He enlarges upon the ſoil and climate, the natural hiſtory, the pearl fiſhery, and the manna of this country, which is a new diſcovery. Then follows a very diſtinct and curious detail of the nations and languages, the tempers and manners of the Californians, with their policy in peace and war, and laſtly, he treats of their religion; in reſpect to which he obſerves, that thoſe who reſided on the continent, were, when the Spaniards found them, entirely free from any idolatrous notions, had few or no ceremonies, and yet had ſome very ſingular ſpeculative opinions, but that it was otherwiſe in the iſlands, where, through the arts and frauds of a particular race of men, the people were grievouſly enthralled in ſuperſtitious ſlavery.

The ſecond part contains the hiſtory of California, from the time of its firſt diſcovery, to the ſending thither the jeſuits. This diſcovery was made by order of the famous Hernan Cortes, who went thither in perſon in 1536, and landing in the gulf, beſtowed upon it his own name, or rather the Spaniards have ſince called it in honour of that great captain, Mar de Cortes, as well as the Vermillion ſea, or the gulf of California. Our author traces very exactly the ſeveral attempts that were made from time to time, for obtaining a more perfect knowledge of the extent and produce of this peninſula, the different projects formed for this purpoſe, both in Old and in New Spain; their repeated diſappointments, and the cauſes of thoſe diſappointments, interſperſed with many judicious and ſenſible remarks, which ſhew the extreme difficulty of executing any great deſign, the conduct of which depends upon the approbation, orders, and inſtructions, that are to come from a country at a great diſtance.

The third part comprehends the reduction of California by the jeſuits, and their tranſactions to the preſent time. He informs us that the court of Spain, and its viceroys in the Indies, tired out with a multitude of fruitleſs, expenſive, and tedious expeditions, had abandoned all further thoughts of this matter, ſo that the proſecution of it was intirely owing to father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, who, being ſent as miſſionary into the adjacent province of Sonora, formed a reſolution of trying to penetrate into this deſerted country from thence. The firſt miſſionary of this order however, who paſſed over into this region, was father Salva Tierra in 1697, and a few years after father Kino penetrated, according to his original deſign, into California by land, and became thereby aſſured, as we have before obſerved, that it was not an iſland but a peninſula. The jeſuits from this time down to the preſent, have had the ſole direction of affairs, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical, in California, and have proſecuted their diſcoveries, converted the Indians, made ſmall ſettlements, cultivated ſome ſpots of ground near them, and with great diligence and perſeverance, have brought ſome little vineyards to ſuch perfection, as to produce wine not inferior to that of Europe. Our author gives a particular, preciſe, and diſtinct account of all theſe tranſactions, ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that though the hiſtory of this part of the world is not big with many great events, yet we have it as clearly and as correctly told, as we can poſſibly deſire. It is very ſingular in its nature, and affords us a very complete view of the policy, of the order, and of the method of reducing nations, to become nominal ſubjects of the crown of Spain, and really ſo to themſelves. It exhibits likewiſe the true notions, which induce the Spaniſh government to make uſe of the fathers in this way, and to permit them to make thoſe acquiſitions by art, which themſelves had ineffectually attempted by force. The author interſperſes very free reflections, not only on the errors of particular adminiſtrations; but on the capital, and if we may ſo ſpeak, conſtitutional faults in the Spaniſh ſyſtem; in conſequence of which, ſome of their richeſt ſettlements are burdenſome, and the great wealth in the bowels of the country is made the cauſe of the miſery and poverty of its inhabitants. Reflections, which the judicious reader will peruſe with profit and pleaſure.

The fourth and laſt part contains ſome additional pieces, referred to in the body of the work. Among theſe, is the famous voyage of captain Sebaſtian Vizcaino, in 1602, in which there is a very curious and particular account of the weſt coaſt of California; this is followed by a deſcription of the eaſt coaſt, from a voyage made in the year 1746. Then come extracts of captain Woods Rogers and lord Anſon's voyages, with the author's remarks upon them, more eſpecially on the latter, in which he undertakes to controvert ſeveral matters of fact, in reſpect to which, the writer of that work, he ſays, was miſinformed; in this, as indeed throughout the whole book, the author ſhews himſelf a zealous ſubject of the crown of Spain, and an avowed apologiſt for the jeſuits. He is, however, a writer of a very different kind, from the reſt of their panegyriſts. He does not run out, as commonly they do, into long flights of high-flown oratory, but delivers every thing in a grave uniform ſtile, very ſuitable to this kind of hiſtory, is very careful in pointing out his authorities, regular in the detection of facts, and in reſpect to theſe, (thoſe regarding religion excepted) ſhews himſelf equally judicious and cautious, and alike free from prejudice and credulity. He ſeems to be ſenſible that his ſubject did not require, and without viſible impropriety, could not admit many ornaments, inſtead therefore of theſe, he ſometimes, but not very frequently, inſerts prudential and political obſervations, relying, however, chiefly on exactneſs and veracity.

There are, notwithſtanding, in the following ſheets, not only many new and curious, but ſome very ſtriking and ſurpriſing, ſome deep and intereſting points, which cannot fail of awakening the attention of the Britiſh reader. He will here diſcern that the Spaniards are in the ſame condition with ſome other nations, they are not unacquainted with the nature of thoſe political maladies, which gradually conſume them, or ignorant of effectual remedies, though they want the power to apply them. He will ſee that Alberoni's ſyſtem extended even to California, and that by embracing the commerce of the Eaſt, as well as the Weſt-Indies, he meant to reſtore the vigour of the Spaniſh monarchy, by reviving a regular circulation through all its members. He will learn that the Spaniards have a well grounded fear of being invaded, even in theſe diſtant parts, by a nation, from whom in the judgment of the moſt penetrating politician, they would have been thought, half a century ago, in no greater danger than from the inhabitants, if there be any, in the moon. He will be informed, that the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, is far leſs problematical there, in the opinion of thoſe, who, from their ſituation, are the ableſt judges, than it is here, and that the dread of ſeeing the Engliſh form an eſtabliſhment in the remoter parts of this country, and connecting it with their other colonies, is ſo far from being thought an impoſſible, that it is held by thoſe who have the beſt means of knowing, to be a very probable thing. Laſtly, he will ſee it made plain to a demonſtration, that while the Spaniards have the hard taſk impoſed on them, of ſettling, improving, and fortifying the very wildeſt, and worſt parts of this country; the Engliſh, if they ſhould ever think of making any attempt, may ſeat themſelves in a pleaſant climate, fruitful ſoil, and in regions well peopled, from whence they may, with certainty, command the moſt valuable branches of commerce that have been hitherto diſcovered, with the faireſt proſpect of adding ſpeedily to theſe, many others, and thoſe perhaps yet more profitable than are hitherto unknown.

5.

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

PART I.

SECT. I.

OF the name, ſituation, and extent of California. page 1---13.

SECT. II.

Account of the gulf of California, its coaſts and iſlands. p. 13—24.

SECT. III.

Deſcription of the country of California, with an account of its ſoil. p. 24—31.

SECT. IV.

Of the beaſts, birds, fiſhes, inſects, ſhells, trees, plants, fruits, minerals, and pearls found in California and its ſeas. p. 31—52.

SECT. V.

Of the different nations and languages of California. p. 52—63.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of the temper and manners of the Californians, and of their government in peace and war. p. 63—86.

SECT. VII.

Of the ancient religions of the Californians. p. 86—111.

PART II.

SECT I.

The firſt accounts of the Pacifick ocean, or South-ſea, p. 111—125.

SECT. II.

Firſt diſcovery of California and voyages thither, in the time of Hernan Cortes. p. 125—142.

SECT. III.

Of the expeditions to California to the year 1600. p. 142—168.

SECT. IV.

A remarkable warrant of Philip III. and other expeditions to California, till the reign of Philip IV. p. 168—195.

SECT. V.

The laſt expedition to California, till the end of the reign of Charles II. p. 195—216.

CONTENTS.

PART III.

SECT. I.

Reduction of California by the jeſuits, and their tranſactions to the preſent time; firſt entrance into California, by father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra 1697. p. 215—231.

SECT. II.

Various incidents, till the entrance of father Francis Maria Piccolo into California. p. 231—248.

SECT. III.

Tranſactions of the two firſt years, with the attempts to enter the inward part of California, till the ſettlement of the ſecond miſſion of St, Xavier. p. 248—265.

SECT. IV.

The difficulties which happened at the commencement of the preſent century, and the unfortunate management of the affairs of the miſſion in Mexico. p. 265—282.

SECT. V.

Attempts and voyages for diſcovering the junction of California with the continent of New Spain; a ſhort narrative of the deſigns and

and heroick labours of father Franciſco Kino, in the miſſions of Sonora and Pimeria; with an account of them. p. 282—312.

SECT. VI.

New reſolutions in California, and the progreſs of its miſſions till the end of the year 1703. 312—337.

SECT. VII.

His majeſty's gracious orders concerning the miſſion, its great difficulties and diſtreſſes in the year 1704, both in California and Mexico; father Salva-Tierra appointed provincial of New-Spain. p. 337—352.

SECT. VIII.

Father Salva-Tierra's farther ſervices to California; his majeſty's favours; obſtacles in Mexico againſt his miſſion; he viſits it in the quality of provincial. p. 352—381.

SECT. IX.

The two miſſions of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui, and of Santa Roſalia Mulege; Progreſs of the others, and a new ſurvey of the coaſt of the South-ſea. 381—399.

SECT. X.

Father Salva-Tierra returns to California; his labours there. The miſſion of San Joſeph de de Comonda, founded by father Mayorga; the miſſion greatly ſuffers by the loſs of the barks, and the ſhipwreck of fathers Guillen and Guiſci, the latter of which was drowned. p. 399—425.

SECT. XI.

Father Salva-Tierra eſtabliſhes a ſpiritual and civil government for the miſſionaries of California, and of the Indians. p. 425—438.

SECT. XII.

Account of the government eſtabliſhed by father Salva-Tierra, in the royal garriſon, and among the ſoldiers, veſſels, and ſeamen, belonging to California, as likewiſe that eſtabliſhed by his advice in the pearl fiſhery. p. 438—455.

A NATURAL and CIVIL HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.

PART I.

Deſcription of CALIFORNIA, with an account of its inhabitants.

SECT. I.

Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of CALIFORNIA.

THE country which we are going to deſcribe, is diſtinguiſhed in the maps by three different names; California, New Albion, and the Iſlas Carolinas: but the moſt ancient is that of California, being found in Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, an officer who ſerved under the famous Cortez, in the conqueſt of Mexico, and who publiſhed a hiſtory of that aſtoniſhing expedition. It muſt however be obſerved that the name California

fornia is, by this gentleman, limited to one ſingle bay. It acquired the name of New Albion, from the famous Engliſh admiral ſir Francis Drake, who, in the year 1577, being then on his ſecond voyage round the world, touched at this country. New Albion implies the ſame as New England, or New Britain, Albion being the ancient name of the iſland we now call England. The name Iſlas Carolinas was not given to this country till near a century after, in honour of Charles II. of Spain, when, by his order, the conqueſt of California, then thought an iſland, and the others adjacent, were undertaken with a force equal to the enterprize. This name is uſed by father Henry Scherera, a German jeſuit, in his new Atlas; by M. de Fer, in a ſmall Atlas of the Spaniſh dominions, and which he preſented to king Philip V. on his acceſſion to the throne; and alſo by other geographers, in their Atlaſes and particular maps. But that famous expedition being rendered abortive, the name has not generally prevailed.

The name by which this country is at preſent known, is that of California, an appellation given to it at its firſt diſcovery. Some uſe the name in the plural number, calling it the Californias, intending probably to include that part thought the principal iſland and the largeſt in the world, together with a multitude of leſſer iſlands which ſurround it on all ſides. But it being now known, that this country is no iſland, but joined to the continent of America, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, propriety requires, that the word ſhould be uſed only in the ſingular number, in conformity with the military hiſtorian above-mentioned.

I could wiſh to gratify the reader with the etymology and true origin of a name which from the oddneſs of its ſound, the real misfortunes which the firſt diſcoverers met with in that country, and the great riches it is ſuppoſed to contain, has greatly excited the curioſity of the inhabitants both of New Spain and Europe. But in none of the various dialects of the natives could the miſſionaries find the leaſt traces of ſuch a name being given either to the country, or even to any harbour, bay, or ſmall portion of it. Nor can I ſubſcribe to the etymology of ſome writers, who ſuppoſe this name to have been given it by the Spaniards, on their feeling an unuſual heat at their firſt landing here, and thence called the country California, a compound of the two Latin words calida fornax, a hot furnace. I believe few will think our adventurers could boaſt of ſo much literature; for tho' Del Caſtillo praiſes Cortez for his being not only a good humaniſt, but alſo an excellent poet, and had taken the degree of bachelor of laws; we do not find that either he or his captains took this method in giving names to their conqueſts. I am therefore inclined to think that this name owed its origin to ſome accident: poſſibly to ſome words ſpoken by the Indians, and miſunderſtood by the Spaniards; as happened, according to a very learned American, in the nameing of Peru; and alſo, as we ſhall ſhortly ſhew, in giving name to the nation of Guaycura.

From the name, let us proceed to the ſituation. For the better underſtanding of which, I ſuppoſe America to be divided into two parts, South and North; the former reaching from the iſthmus of Panama to Cape Horn, which vaſt country is poſſeſſed by his catholick majeſty, and divided into two vice royalties, namely Peru and Santa Fe; the latter beginning from the ſame iſthmus, and extending to the North Pole. But in the latter, all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions are under the ſingle vice-royalty of Mexico, which is divided into the four following audiences; that of the iſland of St. Domingo, or Iſla Eſpanola, that of Mexico, that of Guadalaxara, and that of Guaeimala. Beſides theſe, there is alſo that of the Philippine iſlands, the government of which is alſo within the vice-royalty of New Spain, tho' the iſlands themſelves are ſo far from being a part of North Ameria, that they lie in Aſia, near the coaſt of China.

But we ſhall only mention the audience of Guadalaxara, on which depend all the countries northward of the province of that name, and alſo ſome tracks on the weſt of Mexico; that is, all the northern provinces of this part of America, one of which is California, the ſubject of this treatiſe.

The celebrated geographer John Bleau[*], who is followed by ſeveral others, comprehends, under the name of California, thoſe immenſe tracks lying weſt of New Spain and New Galicia: and comprehended between the northern parts of South America, and the ſtreights of Anian: and thus under the name of California he comprehends New Mexico, the Apaches and others. But he is certainly miſtaken in giving ſuch an extent to California. This province, properly ſpeaking, is a peninſula in the moſt northern part of America, hitherto diſcovered by the Spaniards, in the Pacifick ocean, or the South ſea; or a large point of land iſſuing from the N. coaſts of America, and extending to the ſouth-eaſt, being waſhed on both ſides by the Pacifick ſea, beyond the tropick; ſo that the ſouth point of it lies in the Torrid Zone, and nearly oppoſite to the province of Guadalaxara, on which it depends. On this point is the famous cape de San Lucas; as likewiſe that de la Porſia, betwixt which is formed the bay of St. Barnabas. The weſtern coaſt of California runs to the northward, is waſhed by the Pacifick ocean above mentioned, and extends 22 degrees to Cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian: and the eaſtern or inward coaſt of California, on an accurate examination, appears to reach 10 degrees, till it meets with the great river Colorado. Between theſe two coaſts is the peninſula, or the neck of land called California; and the arm of the ſea between the eaſtern coaſt of the peninſula and the continent, is called the gulf, or bay of California, which, in ſome places 60, in ſome 50, and in ſome 40 leagues broad, between cape San Lucas and the Rio Colorado, diſcharges its waters into this gulf, where both the coaſts unite, as we ſhall afterwards more particularly obſerve.

---

[*] Johannes Bleau, America, quæ eſt geographiæ Blavianæ, pars quinta, liber unus, volumen undecimum. (Amſtelodami 1662.) pag. 70.

"California communitèr dicitur, quidquid terrarum "Novæ Hiſpaniæ, atque Novæ Gallecia ad occidentem "objicitur, quæ ſanè latiſſimè patent, & ad extremos "Americæ meridionalis terminos & fretum, quod vulgò "Anian vocant, pertinent.

Thus California is a part of N. America, waſhed on the eaſt by a gulf of the ſame name; and on the weſt by the Pacifick, or South ſea; lying within the three limits already mentioned, Cape de San Lucas, the river Colorado, and Cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian.

I have mentioned Cape San Sebaſtian, as the fartheſt limit of California on its weſtern coaſt; not that the coaſt actually terminates there; it unqueſtionably ſtretches itſelf much farther to the northward: but becauſe we have little or no knowledge, either of the coaſt itſelf beyond that cape, the ſea to the weſtward of it, or the immenſe countries to the eaſt; and rather than amuſe the reader with the uncertain accounts given us of both, I thought proper to aſſign a known limit; and ſuch is the above-mentioned cape.

As to its geographical ſituation, there would be nothing left to deſire, were the latitudes and longitudes of the above three limits well aſcertained. But except the jeſuits, very few have ſtaid in California a ſufficient time for making ſuch obſervations; which, if performed with ſufficient accuracy, eſpecially thoſe relating to the longitude, require time, inſtruments, and leiſure. Among the miſſionary jeſuits there have been, and ſtill are, many who might have performed them with a preciſion, ſufficient to have given ſatisfaction, even to the curioſity of our age. But theſe, beſides other diſtreſſes, labour under the ſame want of mathematical inſtruments, as is ſeen in other countries leſs ſequeſtrated from the commerce of the world. This is one of the particulars which many miſſionaries, brought up in the boſom of ſcience and uſeful arts, have to offer as a ſacrifice to their Creator in this ſolitude; and it is very unjuſt to reproach them with what enhances their merit: and much more ſo, if they can recriminate upon us, that our ignorance is inexcuſable; it being owing to the neglect of theſe very Europeans who make ſuch loud complaints. But till we have the comfort of ſeeing the approach of that happy time, when we ſhall no longer vex each other with complaints of this nature, we muſt defer the accurate determination of the above limits; for I muſt confeſs that I cannot offer any thing with certainty: I ſhall not however, from a fear of committing ſome ſmall error, forbear ſaying ſomething, which at leaſt may afford room for correction and amendments. And here I ſhall mention the moſt modern diſcoveries which have come to my knowledge, omitting thoſe made in more diſtant times, as their authority has been invalidated by later obſervations.

The latitudes being more eaſily determined, the generality of geographers, navigators, and particular narratives agree, that San Lucas lies in 22 degr. 32 min. of N. latitude. The river Colorado in 32 degr. 30 min. and Cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian in 43 degr. 30 min. of the ſame latitude. Some indeed differ a little in their accounts of the latitudes of theſe three places; and it were to be wiſhed, that obſervations could be made with that accuracy the ſubject deſerves; but in ſettling the longitudes of theſe three points, there is an aſtoniſhing difference. A ſkilful miſſionary of California ſays, in his narrative, that Cape San Lucas lies in 145 deg. W. longitude from the common meridian of the iſle of Ferro, which is the ſame as in 215 deg. longitude reckoning from the E. in the uſual manner. This undoubtedly is a miſtake of the amanuenſis; for the fartheſt eaſtern point of Siberia, being in 205 deg. E. longitude, * computed from the ſame meridian, the conſequence would be that the difference between the meridian, paſſing through the ſaid point of Siberia, and that of Cape San Lucas,

---

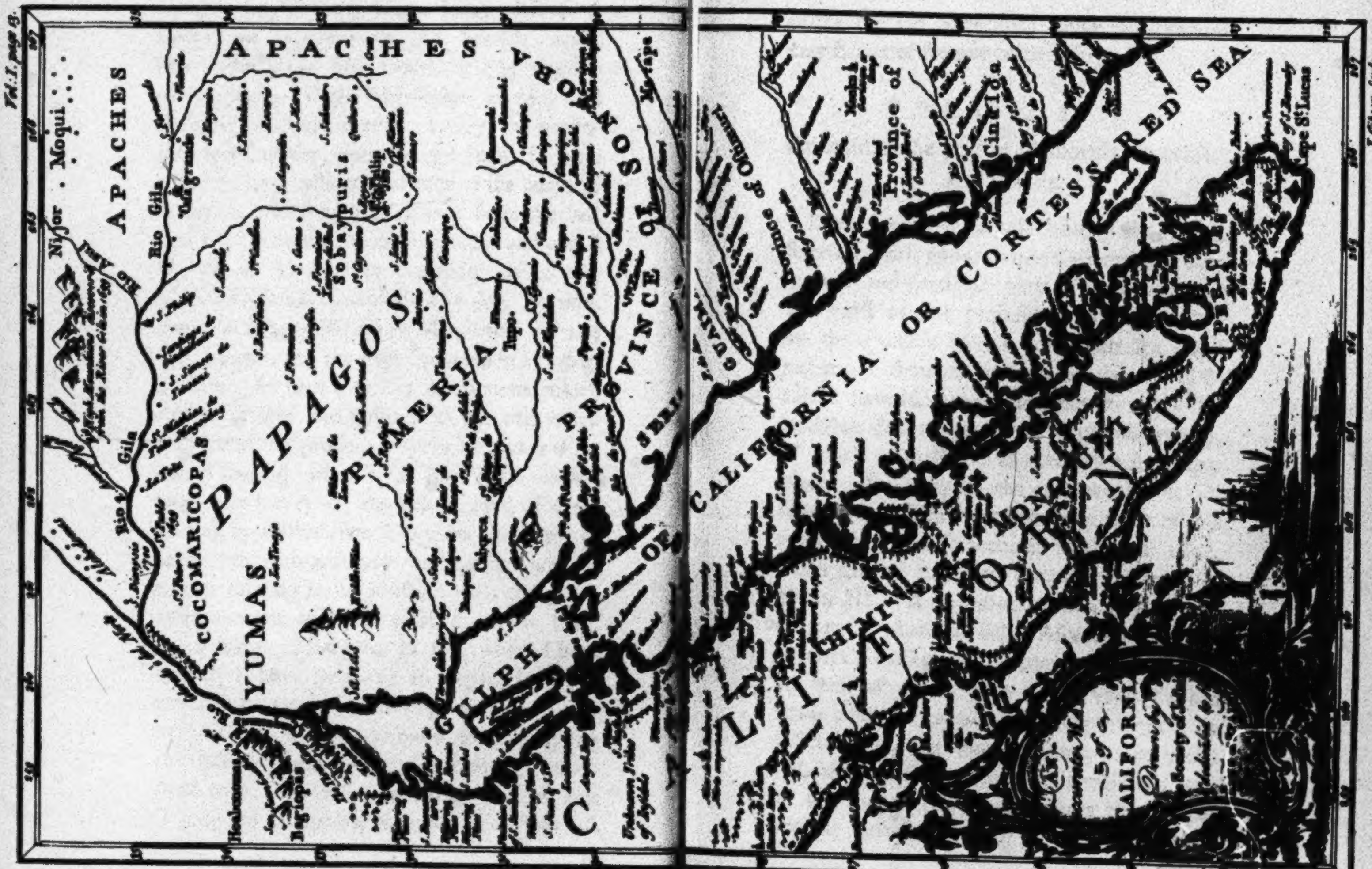
* This is the longitude aſſigned to the ſaid cape by capt. Beerings, whom the czar, Peter the great, ſent on a voyage to diſcover the communication of Aſia with America.

would be but 10 degrees, which is quite incredible, or to ſpeak more properly, impoſſible. On the contrary, Mexico and Acapulco, which are nearly under the ſame meridian, are uſually placed in 274 deg. from the common meridian. This is confirmed in the chart of the coaſts of the South ſea, by that celebrated ſea officer don George Juan, who places Acapulco in 105 deg. W. longitude from the meridian of the royal obſervatory at Paris, which is equal to 275 deg. longitude from the common meridian. According to this, Mexico and Acapulco would not be above 60 deg. longitude from Cape San Lucas, which is doubtleſs an error. Father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, who, beſides being a miſſionary thirty years in theſe countries, was an eminent mathematician, places the mouth of the river Colorado in 250 deg. longitude. And this is aſſigned in general to Califormia by don Joſeph Antonio de Villa Senor y Sanchez, though, on comparing this with the latitude, which he there ſets down, it will appear to be meant of the neighbourhood of Cape San Lucas. Monſieur de Fer alſo places in 250 deg. what he calls the great river of Coral, which I think can be no other than the Colorado. The ſame geographer places Cape San Lucas 254 deg. longitude, and Cape Mendocino in 233.

Captain Woods Rogers places Cape San Lucas, in 114 deg. W. longitude from the meridian of London, which is the ſame as 134 from the common meridian. In the Acapulco ſhip taken by the Engliſh, admiral Anſon, was found a map of the South ſea, in which Cape San Lucas was placed in 23 deg. E. longitude, the firſt meridian being that paſſing through the mouth of the river San Bernardino, in the Philippine iſlands; the harbour of Acapulco in 134 deg. from the ſame, according to which there is only 12 deg. difference between Acapulco and San Lucas; and cape San Lucas muſt lie in 263 deg. longitude. The famous geographer monſieur d'Anville differs 10 deg. in the longitude of the river Colorado, placing it from farther Kino, in 100 deg. W. longitude from the common meridian of Ferro; that is 260 of longitude, according to the common method of computation. The ſame geographer places Cape San Lucas betwixt 94 and 95 deg. of the ſame W. longitude, which anſwers to betwixt 265 and 266 of longitude from the ſame meridian. Mr. Henry Ellis, an Engliſh gentleman, one of the adventurers, who lately ſailed from London, in ſearch of a north paſſage to the South ſea, by the way of Hudſon's-bay, places Cape Blanco near Mendocino, in 124 degrees W. longitude from London, which is equal to 144 of the common long. Monſieur Bellin, an engineer in the French navy, lays down Cape San Lucas in 265 degrees of longitude, Cape Mendocino in 245, and the river Colorado in 260. Laſtly, the abovementioned officer, don George Juan, in ſome tables of longitude and latitude of the coaſts of America, which he himſelf took from the beſt charts uſed by the South ſea pilots, and which he was ſo kind as to communicate to me, places Cape San Lucas in 263 deg. 50 min. common longitude. Cape Mendocino in 249 deg. 49 min. and the river Colorado in 251 deg. 49 min. In ſuch a variety of opinions, which can we prefer? and poſſibly it was this which occaſioned the prudent reſerve of father Fernando Conſag, who, in the year 1746, took a particular ſurvey of the eaſtern coaſt of California, up to the river Colorado, in order to determine, with accuracy, its ſituation, and the diſpute relating to its junction with the continent, has not ventured to ſet down the long. in his maps. However, in this which I have drawn, I have ventured to depart from his reſpectable example, having ſet down the longitudes I thought reſulted from weighing the different facts and obſervations on which thoſe were founded; and flatter myſelf, that if they are erroneous, they will be of ſome uſe

in

Vol. I. page 8.



J. Gibson Sculp.

in making the corrections which obſervations may hereafter ſhew to be neceſſary.

SECT. II.

Account of the gulf of California, its coaſts, and iſlands.

It has been the earneſt deſire of the jeſuits, ſince their firſt entrance into California, to take an exact and particular view of the outward or W. coaſt of this peninſula, which is waſhed by the Pacifick Ocean, or South ſea. But hitherto a thouſand inconveniencies and difficulties have hindered them from executing this laudable deſign, except in ſome places only, of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. Previouſly to the entrance of the jeſuits, many diſcoveries had been made of this coaſt; but none ſo accurate as that in 1602, under general Sebaſtian Vizcaino, by order of Philip III. A narrative of this voyage was written by Antonio della Aſcenſion, a barefooted Carmelite, who accompanied the general, and of which Juan de Torquemada has made a faithful extract, too large indeed to be inſerted here, but too important to be omitted, and therefore a copy of it will be placed at the end of this work; where the curious may at their leiſure read the moſt certain accounts we are poſſeſſed of, relating to this weſtern coaſt. In the mean time, to avoid repetitions, we ſhall paſs over the deſcription of it, and proceed to give an account of the ſea or gulf of California; and of the contiguous coaſts in which it is incloſed.

This gulf is an arm of the Pacifick ſea, intercepted between Cape de Corrientes on one ſide, and Cape St. Lucas on the other; that is, betwixt the two coaſts of New Spain and California, till it joins the mouth of the great river Colorado. It has a near reſemblance to the Adriatick, a branch of the Mediterranean formed by the coaſt of Italy, and that of Dalmatia in Greece. The ancient diſcoverers called it Mar Barmejo, and Mar Roxo, the Red ſea, from its reſembling in form, and ſometimes in colour and appearance, the gulf of Arabia, which runs from Suez, betwixt the coaſts of Africa and Aſia, and is celebrated for the Iſraelites paſſing it on foot. It has alſo been called Mar de Cortes, in compliance with the ſolicitude of the conqueror of the Mexican empire, in order to augment the glory of his enterprizes. The more modern miſſionaries give it the name of Seno Lauritano, in honour of our lady of Loretto, the protectreſs and patroneſs of that miſſion. Likewiſe Mar del Oriente, becauſe it lies to the eaſtward of California, and for a contrary reaſon they give the name of Mar de Poniente, or Weſt ſea to the Pacifick ocean, which, in reſpect of the gulf of Mexico, lies to the northward. Accordingly, under that extenſive name, it is now called Mar del Zur, or the South ſea.

The Cape Corrientes lies in two deg. of latitude leſs than Cape St. Lucas: yet, as from it the coaſt of new Spain takes a different direction, the gulf is generally ſaid to begin from theſe two capes, the mouth of the ſea of California being intercepted between them. Cape Corrientes, according to don George Juan, lies in 268 deg. 10 min. eaſt long. from the meridian of the iſle of Ferro, and in 20 deg. 20 min. north lat. Northward of this cape, on the coaſt of new Spain, beſides the parts of leſs note, are the bay of Valle de Vanderas, at a ſmall diſtance from the cape; and in almoſt 22 deg. north lat. Matanchel harbour; and beyond it the mouth of the river St. Jago, with ſome ſmall iſles near it. Twenty leagues weſt of this part of the coaſt, in the middle of the entrance of the bay of California, are four ſmall iſlands, called San Juan and the three Maries. Along the ſame coaſt are four rivers, San Pedro, Acaponeta, the name alſo of a town lying in 22 deg. 10 min. N. lat. Cannas, which divides the kingdom of new Galicia from the province of Cinaloa, and the dioceſs of Durango from that of Guadalaxara; and the Chiametla in the province of the ſame name, facing which is the iſland of Santa Iſabel. Afterwards we meet with the rivers Maſatlan, with the iſlands of the ſame name, and of thoſe of Galicia forming the harbour of St. Sebaſtian; and in the ſea, the iſland de los Bendos. On the continuation of the coaſt is Punta Negra, which projects a great way into the ſea, and the rivers of Piaſtla, Elota, Tavala, and Culiacan, which gives name to a town and province in the lat. of 25 deg. north, as does that of Cinaloa, in about 26. Not far diſtant, in the ſea, is a vaſt rock, or rather ſmall iſland. Oppoſite to this coaſt, are the bay of Santa Maria, the river and port of Ahome, in 26 deg. 30 min. lat. the river Puerte, the largeſt of any in theſe provinces, the Eſteros, and the port of Santa Lucas, formed by an iſland, and a little beyond, in almoſt 28 deg. and within ſight of the mine mountain, de los Frayles and the river Mayo, which diſcharges itſelf into the harbour of Santa Cruz.

On the other ſide of the river Mayo begins the province of Oſtimuri, extending 40 leagues to the river Chico, in which is incloſed part of the Pimeria Baxa. On the eaſt is the bay of

Santa Cruz, the creeks of St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew, and the Punta de Lobos. About 29 deg. the river Yaqui, or San Ignacio falls into the ſea, forming Yaqui harbour, betwixt the villages of Belen and Raun; and which for its ſeveral conveniencies, is the moſt frequented by the California barks. From this river begins the province of Sonora, which is of a vaſt extent up the country; and this ſide of the continent was the laſt conquered by the Spaniards, and converted by the jeſuits. In following the coaſt are found the harbour of Xavier, the bay of San Joſeph de los Guaymas, and the river de Sonora, the name of the whole province.

From this part, as far as Caborca, which is 90 leagues from the river Yaqui, the coaſt, on account of its being very barren and rocky, has the appearance of a deſert, all its inhabitants being a few Indian Seris and Tepocas, who are all totally heathens, or very imperfectly inſtructed in chriſtianity. It contains the great bay of San Juan Baptiſta, near which is the iſland of San Auguſtin; and farther to the weſtward, that of San Eſtevan. Further to the northward is the iſland of San Pedro, near the coaſt of the Seris. A little beyond falls into the ſea, the ſmall river which waters the miſſion of the Concepcion de Caborca, a tract of land lying up the country about two leagues from the ſea. This was the laſt chriſtian ſettlement formed in the province of Pimeria Alta, within the government of Sonora, and lies in 31 deg. N. latitude. But in 1751 the Indians, inſenſible of their happineſs, revolted and deſtroyed it, and the two miſſionary jeſuits ſettled there, ſuffering a glorious martyrdom. Not far from this ſtream, father Euſebio Franciſco Kino diſcovered an harbour, which he called Santa Sabina; and near the ſhore, a ſmall Iſland, about three leagues in length, to which he gave the name of Santa Ines. In the remaining part of the coaſt, from 31 deg. many geographers, both ancient and modern, placed the rivers Coral, Tizon, Santa Clara, Amgouche, Perlas, and Lajas, the ſhoals, with other capes and harbours. But father Kino, who made ſeveral tours along this country, and was a very accurate obſerver, from the river Caborca, to the Colorado, met with nothing worth inſerting in his maps, except the rivulet of Santa Clara, which runs into the ſea. Paſſing by the ſkirts of the mountains of that name, called by the ſame father del Carrizal and San Marcelo, in lat. 31 deg. 30 min. he was ſo far from meeting with any ſuch rivers, that he has inſerted only one piece of water from Santa Clara to the river Colorado; which he calls Tres-Ojitos, or three little eyes, and is ſituated near the abovementioned rivulet of Santa Clara. Relying therefore on father Kino's narratives and maps, it may be confidently affirmed, that from the brook of Santa Clara, the bearing of the coaſt alters, running directly from E. to W. for the ſpace of half a degree; where it again winds to the north. The reſt of the coaſt is all a barren ſand, as far as the river Colorado, which, as we have before obſerved, falls into the ſea in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude. Above this there can be none of the above-mentioned rivers; this being the utmoſt limit of the gulf, where the eaſtern coaſt of California, and that of the continent of New Spain join with the banks of the above river.

Of all the rivers in the vaſt extent of the vice-royalty of Mexico, this is the largeſt. Its mouth at its entrance into the gulf, being near a league in breadth. In it are formed three ſmall iſlands, which by reducing it into channels, increaſes the rapidity of its currents. According to the accounts of father Kino, who, from the commencement of the miſſion of Pimeria Alta, in the cloſe of the laſt century, and beginning of the preſent, ſailed up the river Colorado ſeveral times; and according to the teſtimony of father James Sedelmayer, a miſſionary of Caborca and Tubutama, who, in his indefatigable zeal, likewiſe entered that river ſeveral times ſince the year 1744, particularly in October 1748. The river Colorado runs directly N. and S. from the 34th degree, till it loſes itſelf in the ſea. About the 35th degree, it receives the large river Gila, and runs in one continued ſtream N. E. and S. W. to about the 34th degree, which is alſo the courſe of the Colorado, till the junction of the two rivers, and its banks are ſo far inhabited by this nation of the Alchedomas. The courſe of the Gila, from the country of the Apaches is E. and W. and before its influx into the Colorado, it is enlarged by the river Aſſuncion, a name given by friar Sedelmayer to another large river which he met with beſides the Gila, and which is joined by two other ſmaller rivers, by him called Rio Salado, and Rio Verde. The river Gila is about 100 leagues from the laſt miſſions of Sonora and Pimeria; and conſequently above 600 leagues N. of Mexico.

It now remains to give a deſcription of the gulf on the ſide of California, its weſtern coaſt. The gulf begins from the bay of St. Barnaby, is incloſed betwixt two capes; the moſt ſouthern of which is that of St. Lucas; and the inward called Porſia, into which the little river flowing thro' the miſſion of St. Joſeph de Los Coras falls. Within the gulf is the bay of

Las Palmas: and beyond that, another called Serralvo; and alſo an iſland in the middle of the ſea facing it. From hence the coaſt runs to the northward inclining to the weſt, as far as the heights of Santa Cruz, and the iſland Roſario, where it runs due weſt; and afterwards winding from north to ſouth, forms a point of land in the gulf, which runs from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt; and oppoſite to this point is the iſland de St. Spiritu Santo. This cape forms the ſpacious bay de la Paz, lying in 23 deg. 30 min. north latitude, in which is the harbour Pitchilingues, and near it a vaſt number of ſmall iſlands. This bay was the place where admiral don Iſidro de Otondo y Antillon arrived in his firſt voyage to California; and here he continued four months, till the 31ſt of March 1683. Afterwards he ſailed about 60 leagues to the northward, namely, as far as the bay de los Dolores; in the language of the country called de Apate; and facing its coaſt lies the iſland of San Joſeph, and others called Las Animas, San Diego, Santa Cruz, Montalvan, and Catalana. Immediately after, the coaſt forms the bay of San Carlos, which is entirely ſurrounded with ſmall iſlands. And beyond the coaſt of Malibat is Loretto-bay, before called San Dionyſio, and in the country Idiom Concho; in which, as we have before obſerved, is the firſt miſſion founded in California, and conſecrated to our lady of Loretto, the protectreſs and patroneſs of this conqueſt. It lies in the latitude of 26 deg. north. In this bay are the ſmall iſlands of Montſerrat and San Marcial; alſo that of Carmen, which is larger and farther up the gulf. Betwixt this and the coaſt of Ligui lies the iſland of Los Danzantes; and farther up, thoſe of San Coſme, San Damain and Coronados.

Not far from theſe iſlands, and that called La Meſtiza, the ſea forms the little bay of San Bruno, in which are ſeveral iſlands called San Juanico; and where admiral Otondo pitched his camp. Beyond a point of land projecting into the ſea, to which its figure has given the name of Pulpito, begins the bay of Comondu, facing which is the iſland of San Ildefonſo. From this part, the ſea, running directly N. and returning immediately from N. to S. forms another point of land reſembling that of La Paz above-mentioned, but narrower, betwixt which and the coaſt is Concepcion bay, but the mouth of it is obſtructed with a cluſter of ſmall iſlands; its latitude is about 27 deg. About two leagues from this bay, the river Mulege enters the bay of California, and beyond it is Cape San Marcos. Oppoſite to the cape, in the middle of the ſtreight, lies the iſland of Tortuga, or Tortoiſe iſland; and on the S. ſide thoſe called the Tortuguillas, or the little Tortoiſes, and on the N. others called the Galapagos, or Snails: hence the coaſt ſtretches away a little inclining to the N. to Cape Virgenes, as the neighbouring chain of mountains is called; among which, in the year 1746, were found ſeveral volcanos. Beyond this cape the coaſt inclines more to the W. At a ſmall diſtance is the harbour of Santa Ana, and three leagues further San Carlos, which lies in 28 deg. of N. latitude. Here, on the 9th of June 1746, father Fernand Conſago, by order of father Chriſtoval de Eſcobar, provincial of New-Spain, came up with four canoes, in order to take a ſurvey of the remaining part of the coaſt terminated by the river Colorado. Beyond the harbours of Trinidad, San Barnabe, and San Juan, and the cape and bay of San Miguel de la Pepena, is cape San Gabriel de las Almejas, or St. Gabriel of the Muſcles, a promontory ſo dreaded by all navigators on this coaſt, that they have nicknamed it Punta de ſal Sipuedes, or Point Eſcape keep off if you can. The latitude of this cape is 29°. 30′. N. Beyond this point of land is an infinite number of iſlands, which, on account of the trouble and danger ariſing from the multitude of them, are alſo called Iſlas de Sal-ſi Pueds. The greateſt place of note along the coaſt, is the bay of San Raphael, and betwixt it and San Gabriel is the iſland of San Lorenzo, together with others of a ſmaller magnitude. Further up is the bay of Las Animas; and that of Los Angeles, from whence the coaſt continues to San Juan and San Pablo, which with the large iſland of Angel de la Guarda forms the canal of de las Ballenas, or Whales; ſo called from the great numbers of them ſeen there. Beyond the bay of San Luis Gonzaga, and that of the Viſitacion, the coaſt lies due N. and S. to the bay of San Phelipe de Jeſus, forming in the intervals the harbours of Santa Iſabel and San Fermin, and from beyond San Fermin and San Buenaventura it is covered with marſhes, and lies S. W. and N. E. or between the N. and E. from the mouth of the Colorado, to the utmoſt limit of the gulf of California, as we have before remarked.

SECT. III.

Deſcription of the country of CALIFORNIA, with an account of the nature of its ſoil.

It may be confidently affirmed, that till the beginning of this century, no European had penetrated into the inland parts of California; and conſequently what account any one pretended to give of it, muſt have been only uncertain inferences from the little he had obſerved on the coaſt. However from a deſire of alleviating, in ſome meaſure, by ſtrange and ſurpriſing accounts, the uneaſy ſenſations ariſing from the miſcarrage of the enterpriſes for its conqueſt, and the pleaſure with which the attention and wonder of the hearers flatters the relator, as one who has been an eye-witneſs of ſuch ſtrange things, ſtimulated many at their ignominious return from thoſe expeditions to court popularity, palliate miſcarriages, and render their company acceptable by a fruitful invention of fables. The frequent repetition of theſe opened a door for improvement and emulation. The laſt who arrived, thought themſelves obliged to add ſome circumſtances of greater terror and wonder, than what had been related by the firſt adventurers: and this they did with the leſs caution, as their narratives could not be eaſily diſproved.

Even the jeſuits themſelves could not give an entire and authentick account of this peninſula on their firſt arrival; it was a work of years for them to penetrate into the inland parts, and take at leiſure a ſurvey of it, in order to give the world a juſt account. What errors would that perſon commit, who ſhould deſcribe the nature and qualities of Spain, when his obſervations had been confined to a ſmall part of its coaſt? I ſhall not therefore repeat the erroneous accounts of former adventurers, but lay before the reader, what is aſcertained by repeated modern accounts.

The length of California from cape San Lucas to the northern limit already conquered, is about 300 leagues: beſides which, about a diſtrict of a league has been partly known and deſcribed.

Its breadth is ſmall in proportion to its length; for at cape San Lucas it is only 10 leagues, in ſome places 20, in others 30, and in others 40, from one ſea to the other, according to the windings of both coaſts. From the extent of the country, there muſt naturally be a difference in the temperature of the air, and the qualities of the ſoil. But it may be ſaid in general, that the air is dry and hot to a great degree; and that the earth is barren, rugged, wild, every where over-run with mountains, rocks, and ſands, with little water, and conſequently unfit either for agriculture, planting, or graziery. But to ſpeak a little more particularly; for the ſpace of 20 or 30 leagues from cape San Lucas, the air is of a more kindly quality, the ground leſs barren and rugged, and little currents of water more frequent than in the other parts. From hence to the garriſon of Loretto, which is near the center of the conquered part, the heat is in general exceſſive, the mountains craggy, and the earth dry and barren. In the remaining part of the conquered country to the furtheſt miſſions, the air is more moderate, ſo that at ſome ſeaſons of the year water freezes; but the wild diſpoſition of the country is the ſame. From the 28th degree, as far as has been diſcovered along the coaſt of the peninſula, the ſoil is not ſo rugged and full of rocks: yet with no abatement of its remarkable ſterility. Father Kino however, who croſſed the river Colorado, between 34 and 35 degrees, and took a very careful ſurvey of the countries to the weſt of this river, betwixt the channel of Santa Barbara, Puerto de Monte Rey, and Cape Mendocino, aſſures us, that there are level and fruitful tracts, interſperſed with many delightful woods, plenty of water, fine paſtures, and as proper a country for making ſettlements as can be deſired. This account is confirmed by what general Vizcaino met with on the ſea coaſt of thoſe tracts; and ſtill more recently by father Taraval's own experience on the coaſt of San Xavier: and in the oppoſite iſlands de los Dolores, which form the above named channel of St. Barbara. Both agree that theſe coaſts, either with regard to the air, or plenty of fruits, have little or no affinity with the other parts of California.

The idea therefore which from good authority is to be formed of California as diſcovered for near 300 leagues up the country, is not very advantageous: but, notwithſtanding this country in general is rugged, craggy, and barren, and the air diſagreeable and unhealthy; yet near the coaſt there are ſeveral ſpots that may be greatly improved by agriculture, and would produce all the neceſſaries of life. The vicinity of the ſea with its vapours moderates the heat of the atmoſphere; the ſides of the mountains ſend forth currents of water, without which, indeed ſowing would often fail, on account of the little rain, and the uncertainty of it. Laſtly, it is not without plains both for paſture and tillage. Even in the center of California there are ſome vallies and riſing grounds of a tolerable ſoil, having ſprings for drinking and watering the grounds. In theſe parts it is that the poor Californians have their dwellings; and here likewiſe are the

Cabeceras [*] of the miſſions, and the villages within their viſitation.

It has been a maxim always to build theſe cabeceras near rivers and waters, to induce the Indians to live in towns, and thereby habituate them to a chriſtian and ſocial life under laws. But along the whole inward coaſt from Cape San Lucas to the river Colorado, there are only two ſtreams, and theſe but ſmall, the firſt paſſes through the miſſion of San Joſeph del Cabo, and diſcharges itſelf into the bay of San Bernabe; the ſecond is the Muleje, which waters the miſſion of Santa Roſalia, and runs into the gulf of California, in the latitude of 27 deg. The other miſſions are near ſome ſprings, whoſe waters generally do not reach the ſea, unleſs in times of great rain. Others do not fall into the gulf, but into the Pacifick ſea on the weſtern coaſt; but as no accurate obſervations have been made on this head, I will not venture to ſay any thing further about the rivers, as it muſt be uncertain.

Monſieur de Fer and other modern geographers place on this coaſt, and in the latitude of 26 deg. near Cape Santa Apollonia, the port of San Martin, that of Anno Nuevo, and the river of Santo Thomé, with this particular, that they were diſcovered in the year 1648. This was the æra of admiral Otondo's expeditions, in which father Kino accompanied that officer; and though I do not find in the narratives of that expedition, that Otondo ever went on ſhore, only to viſit the harbours of the eaſtern coaſt and the gulf; yet from the ardent curioſity of father Kino, and the great concern he had in the affairs of California, I cannot think that he could be miſtaken in any particular relating to the diſcovery: that father Kino, both in his large manuſcript map, and likewiſe in the leſſer impreſſion, places the river of Santo Thomé, as riſing between 26 and 27 deg. of N. latitude, and after croſſing the whole peninſula, diſcharging itſelf into the South ſea, in the 26 deg. and forming at its mouth a large harbour, which he calls Puerto de Anno Nuevo, being diſcovered in the year 1685. On both ſides of the river are chriſtian villages, as is evident from their names, Santiago, Santo Innocentes, San Juan, San Eſtevan, Reyes, Noche-Buena, Thebayda, and San Nicholas; yet in the accounts of that time, I do not meet with any intelligence of this diſcovery, to which I muſt add, that in the ſubſequent relations, no mention is made of any ſuch river, ſettlements, or harbours, though even little brooks are taken notice of. Theſe, and ſeveral other reaſons, induce me not to pronounce deciſively: and many other difficulties of the ſame nature occurring about this outward coaſt, I beg leave for want of more recent and exact information, to refer the reader to the narrative of general Vizcaino's voyage inſerted at the end of this work.

---

[*] This is the name of the principal town, in which uſually reſides the miſſionary, who generally has ſeveral ſmall villages under his care.

SECT. IV.

Of the Beaſts, Birds, Inſects, Fiſhes, Shells, Trees, Fruits, Plants, Minerals, and Pearls, found in CALIFORNIA and its ſeas.

From this extenſive title, I hope the reader will not expect a complete hiſtory of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms in California. I well know that natural hiſtory has always been the favourite ſtudy of the wiſe in every civilized nation. I know alſo the preſent application of the learned to the experimental knowledge of nature, and the countenance it ſo deſervedly receives from the European princes; of which the galleries of curioſities, muſæums, gardens, laboratories, theatres, academies, and innumerable books are ſuch ſplendid monuments. I know the ſatisfaction which ariſes in the breaſt of a curious reader, at meeting with any novelty in this ſcience, as may reaſonably be expected in the accounts of countries remote and little known. I know that nothing ſhould be omitted relating to the natural hiſtory, as nothing is more pleaſing to perſons of taſte; poſſibly the Supreme Being, in order to the inveſtigation of the wonders of his power has inſpired men with this taſte, knowing the eagerneſs with which they deſire to ſearch into, and explain every phænomenon of nature; or it is the deſign of Omnipotence in inſpiring the minds of men with this deſire of contemplating the works of his hands, that we may thence acquire ſome faint idea of his greatneſs. I alſo ſee with admiration the labours of many foreigners, in illuſtrating the natural hiſtory of the American colonies of their reſpective nations; as the late admirable preſident of the royal ſociety in England, ſir Hans Sloane *, mrs. Maria Sybilla Mirian, who undertook a voyage from Holland to Surinam, to obtain a

---

* Catalogus plantarum, quæ in inſula Jamaica ſponte provenient vel vulgo coluntur, cum earundem ſynonimis & locis natalibus, adjectis aliis quibuſdam, que in inſulis. Maderæ, Barbadoes, Neves, S. Chriſtophori naſcuntur, ſeu prodromus Hiſtoriæ naturalis Jamaicæ, Londini, 1695, in fol. Voyage to the iſlands of Madeira, Barbadoes, Nevis, St. Chriſtopher's and Jamaica, with the natural hiſtory of theſe countries, &c. London 1707. two vols. in fol. with 274 copper-plates.

more accurate knowledge of the inſects of that country. Laet and Briy, Dutchmen; Joceline and Walker, Engliſhmen; Lerio, a Frenchman; Piſon, Markgrave, and Rochfort, Dutchmen; Ligon, an Engliſhman; Cornuto, an Italian in the French ſervice; Banniſter, an Engliſhman; Vernon and Crieg, Engliſhmen; Labat, a French Dominican; Thibeth, a French Franciſcan; Cateſby and Clayton, Engliſhmen; Barrera la Fitau and Charlevoix, Frenchmen; and many others to be found in the botanical bibliothecas of Seguier and Linnæus. I remember the diligent cultivation of this ſtudy in Spain, even in the time of the Moors, and much more ſince the eſtabliſhment of the uſeful arts and ſciences, when Pliny was read in ſchools: and there was an emulation among the learned, in illuſtrating that author with notes, as Nunnius, Stran, Gomez, de Caſtro, Ponce de Leon; whilſt this artful knowledge was farther improved by the valuable writings of Laguna, Valles, Herrera, el Prior, Deza, Rios, Salinas, Val de Cebro, Fanes, Velez, Vargus, Villaſane, Barba, and many others, mentioned with honour in the Spaniſh libraries. Nor am I ignorant alſo with what preciſion the products of America have been illuſtrated by Monardes and Oviedo, but eſpecially by the late father Joſeph d'Acoſta, a jeſuit, whom that elegant writer, father Feyjoo, juſtly ſtiles the Pliny of America: and here I muſt not omit the famous Franciſco Hernandez, ſent to America as well as Acoſta, by Philip II. who left in the Eſcurial library ſeventeen large volumes of deſcriptions, of which father Claudio Clemente ſays, * "Qui omnes "libri, & commentarii, ſi prout affecti ſunt, ita "forent perfecti, & abſoluti Philippus Secundus "& Franciſcus Hernandez, haudquaquam "Alexandro, et Ariſtoteli, in hac parte con"cederent." But of theſe we have only extracts, taken by father Ximenes, and Nardo Recco, phyſician to Philip IV. I alſo with pleaſure ſee the general applauſe given to illuſtrations of the natural hiſtory of our American dominions in this century: as thoſe of father Fevillee †, and Plumier ‡, who were ſent to America at the expence of the king of France. The deſcription of the plants of the Philippine iſlands by father Camello; thoſe of the river

---

* Bibliothecæ Eſcurialis deſcriptio: Appendix ad tractatum Muſæi, ſive bibliothecæ inſtructio, &c. Lugduni, 1635. 4to.

† A minim, alſo mathematician and botaniſt, who publiſhed a valuable piece entitled, the Hiſtory of the medicinal plants, uſed in Peru and Chili, Paris 1714. 4to. Sequel of the ſame, Paris 1725.

‡ Deſcription de plantes d'Amerique, folio. Alſo, Nova Plantarum Americanarum genera, Paris 1703.

The Cayote or Fox. Vol. I. page 36.

The Taye or Californian Deer.

Oronoco by father Gumilla, in his excellent work, intitled Oronoco Illuſtrado; and laſtly thoſe which occur in the Relation del Viago a los Reynos del Peru, by don George Juan and don Antonio Ulloa, in company with the academicians of France, to aſcertain the true figure of the earth. To conclude, I know the impatience with which the literary world is expecting the obſervations of monſieur Juſſieu, who who was ſent by his moſt chriſtian majeſty with the above academicians; and who ſtayed behind in America ſeveral years, purely to illuſtrate the natural hiſtory of that extenſive country. All theſe particulars lie before me, and I have related them not ſo much to defend me from the complaints of the learned, as to incite perſons of capacity living in Spain, to ſilence the lod complaints of Linnæus, on the want of good accounts *. And likewiſe to thoſe that live in America, that they would remove the cauſe of ſuch reproaches, by exerting themſelves to gratify this noble curioſity.

---

* Linn. Biblioth. Botanica, part. viii. Floriſtæ, § viii. Hiſp. pag. 96. Hiſpanicæ Floræ nullæ nobis innotuerunt, adeoque plantæ iſtæ rariſſimæ in locis Hiſpaniæ fertiliſſimis minus delecta ſunt. Dolendum eſt, quod in locis, Europæ cultioribus tanta exiſtat noſtro tempore barbaries botanices! Pauciſſimas iſtas plantas, quæ nobis in Hiſpania & Portugalia conſtant, debemus curioſis claſs. iii. Tournefortio & paucis aliis.

In the mean time, I ſhall be ranked among thoſe who increaſe the above complaints in imitation of the learned Muratori, in his Notitia del Paraguay. For in expectation of more punctual and particular informations, my intent here is only to give a general idea of the ſubjects mentioned in the title.

In California are now found all kinds of domeſtick animals, commonly uſed in Spain and Mexico; for tho' the miſſionaries met with none ſuch, they have ſince been tranſported from New Spain, for horſes, mules, aſſes, oxen, ſheep, hogs, and goats, and even dogs and cats have been found to thrive well in this country. In California are two ſpecies of wild creatures for hunting, which are not known in Old or New Spain. The firſt is that which the Californians in the Monqui tongue call Taye. It is about the bigneſs of a calf, a year and a half old, and greatly reſembles it in figure, except in its head, which is like that of a deer, and the horns very thick, reſembling thoſe of a ram: its hoof large, round, and cloven, like that of an ox: its ſkin is ſpotted like the deer, but the hair thinner, and it has a ſhort tail: the fleſh is very palatable, and to moſt taſtes exquiſite. The ſecond ſpecies differs very little from a ſheep, but a great deal larger, and more bulky: theſe are of two colours, white and black, both well covered with excellent wool. The fleſh of theſe is not leſs agreeable, and they wander in droves about the foreſts and mountains. Here is alſo plenty of deer, hares, rabbits, and wild goats, though the Indians kill great numbers in their huntings; but the coyotes are ſcarce. This is a Mexican word, and in New Spain the name of a peculiar ſpecies of wild dog, in ſome particulars reſembling the foxes of Spain, eſpecially in their arts and ſtratagems; though their figure is very different. Some leopards alſo have been ſeen here, and are the ſame creatures with thoſe called lions in the kingdom of Mexico. A few years ſince ſome Indians killed a wolf; and all their countrymen affirmed, that it was the firſt they had ever ſeen of that kind: which proves that there are few of them, the Indians being continually hunting in the foreſts. Goats, cats, and wild hogs are frequently found among the mountains. Father Torquemada obſerves, that about Monte Rey are very large bears, an animal ſomething like a buffalo, and a creature very different from the tyger, as will appear from the following deſcription he has given of it: it is about the bigneſs of a ſteer, but ſhaped like a ſtag; its hair reſembles that of a pelican, and is a quarter of a yard in length; its neck long, and on its head are horns, like thoſe of a ſtag; the tail is a yard in length, and half a yard in breadth; and the feet cloven like thoſe of an ox. The ſame father relates, that in the bay of San Bernabe, near Cape San Lucas, tygers are found, and that the Indians, among other things, brought the ſkins of them to the Spaniards.

But the greateſt curioſity in this particular, which has been found in California, is a kind of animal exactly reſembling a beaver, if not actually a ſpecies of that creature. Father Sigiſmundo Taraval ſaw ſeveral during his journey, in the year 1733, to the iſland de los Dolores, in a part called San Andres, four days and a half journey from the miſſion of San Ignatio. They found ſuch numbers of them together, that the ſeamen killed above twenty of them, following them only with ſticks. Some of the ſkins of theſe creatures the father ſent to Mexico. He ſuppoſes theſe animals to be amphibious, like the beaver; but ſays nothing of that ſkill and regularity ſo much admired in the ſtructures which the Canada-beavers build along the rivers for their habitations.

With regard to ſnakes and terreſtrial inſects, beſides the common ſpecies, here are alſo thoſe which uſually abound in hot countries, as vipers of different kinds, efts, ſcorpions, ſpiders, ſcolopendras, crickets, piſmires, and lizards;

and one of the accounts adds, tarantulas, but without any mention that its bite is attended with the remarkable frenzy ſucceeding that of the tarantulas of Calabria. Laſtly, though the heat in California is generally exceſſive, yet even the moiſt parts do not abound with thoſe miſchievous inſects, the bugs, niguas *, and others, both common and peculiar to America.

Of birds there is an infinite variety. Among thoſe which ſerve for the table, are turtles, herons, quails, pheaſants, geeſe, ducks, and pigeons. The birds of prey are vultures, hawks, falcons, oſſiphrages, horn-owls, ravens, and crows, which in New Spain are called in the Mexican dialect, zopilotes; and another kind called auras, of excellent uſe in keeping the cities clean, leaving no dead carcaſe in the ſtreets, whither they repair early every morning. With regard to night birds, there are owls, and many others of a ſmaller kind, not ſeen in any other parts, nor mentioned by any naturaliſts; nor have the narratives of the jeſuits ſupplied us with a deſcription, or even

---

* Very ſmall inſects, which lie hid in the duſt, leap like fleas, and work themſelves into the feet or legs of thoſe that go barefoot; where they breed ſo wonderfully, that they are ſcarce to be got out again, and ſometimes there is no deſtroying them without cauterizing or cutting off the part.

the name of them. California has a great variety of ſinging birds, eſpecially of thoſe kinds found either in Old or New Spain, as larks, nightingales, and the like, moſt of which are adorned with beautiful plumages. Father Torquemada ſays, "that about the harbour of Monte-Rey are buſtards, peacocks, geeſe, thruſhes, ſwallows, ſparrows, gold-finches, linets, quails, partridges, blackbirds, water-wagtails, cranes, vultures, and other birds, reſembling turkey-cocks: the latter were the largeſt we ever ſaw, the diſtance from one wing to the other being ſeventern palms. He adds, that there are cormorants, gulls, and mews." The ſame author ſays, that in the iſland of Aſſumpcion they ſaw great numbers of a particular ſpecies of gulls, which, as they are found in ſeveral parts of California, it may not be improper to inſert here the deſcription of them, by friar Antonio della Aſſumpcion. "The gulls live on pilchards and other ſmall fiſhes; but they are equal to a very large gooſe in ſize, their bill a foot in length, and their long legs reſemble thoſe of the ſtork; their beak and feet are like thoſe of a gooſe. They have a vaſt craw, which in ſome hangs down like the leather bottles uſed in Peru for carrying water; and in it they put their captures to carry them to their young ones. The friendly diſpoſition of theſe birds is ſomething ſurpriſing; for they aſſiſt one another, as if they had an unadulterated uſe of reaſon. If any one is ſick, weak, maimed, or otherwiſe diſabled from going in queſt of food, he is plentifully aſſiſted by others, who lay it before him: of this I myſelf was an-eye witneſs in the iſland of San Roque, where I accidentally found a gull tied with a ſtring, and one of his wings broke; around this maimed bird lay heaps of excellent pilchards, brought thither by its companions: and this I found was a ſtratagem practiſed by the Indians, to procure themſelves a diſh of fiſh; for they lie concealed, while the gulls bring theſe charitable ſupplies; and when they think that little more is to be expected, they ſeize upon the contributions." Such are the myſterious ways of providence for the ſupport of his creatures!

As the air and qualities of the earth are not uniform in all parts of California; ſo neither are they in the production of trees and plants. The point of the peninſula towards Cape San Lucas is more level, fertile, and temperate than any other, and thence more woody. In the other parts, even to the fartheſt miſſions on the eaſt coaſt, no timber has hitherto been diſcovered large enough for rafters; and if any churches or other buildings are found roofed with wood, it has been brought by ſea from Cinaloa. In the territory of Guadalupe alone are found large quantities of timber, and of this the ſloop called el Triumpho della Cruz was built, in order to make a futher diſcovery of the gulf, as we ſhall mention in the ſequel. Father Torquemada, and father Aſcencion, indeed ſay, that in the bay of Magdalena on the outward coaſt, there is a ſpot of ground near the ſea covered with large trees, which the Indians uſe for building their fiſhing barks. The mountains all over this vaſt tract, are totally bare of verdure, as the Sierra Pintada; or at moſt only covered with ſmall ſhrubs, briars, and low trees; but many of them have excellent fruit, ſome common to Europe, and others peculiar to America. Theſe however, are moſt frequent along the coaſts, where they enjoy the benefit of water, eſpecially on the banks of rivers and lakes; where there are alſo ruſhes, oſiers, and ſedges. Some willows and palm-trees are alſo found on the banks of rivers, eſpecially towards Cape San Lucas.

But among the plants and ſhrubs which moſt abound in California, the principal is the pitahaya, a kind of beech, the fruit of which forms the great harveſt of the poor inhabitants here. This tree is not known in Europe, and differs from all other trees in the world; its branches are fluted and riſe vertically from the ſtem, ſo as to form a very beautiful top; they are without leaves, the fruit growing to the boughs. The fruit is like a horſe cheſtnut, and full of prickles: but the pulp reſembles that of a fig, only more ſoft and luſcious. In ſome it is white, in ſome red, and in others yellow; but always of an exquiſite taſte: ſome again are wholly ſweet; others of a grateful acid. And as the pitahaya is very juicy, it is chiefly found in a dry ſoil: but its moſt valuable quality is its being a ſpecifick againſt the diſtemper de Loanda. California has alſo great plenty of red junas, called in New Spain, junas japonas, and a particular ſpecies of fig. Father Aſcencion ſays, "That the bay of San Barnabe abounds with various trees, as fig trees, lentiſks, pitahayas, an infinite number of plum trees, which, inſtead of reſin or gum, yield a very fine and fragrant incenſe in great quantity. What taſte theſe plums have, I cannot ſay from my own experience: but they who have been in California, greatly commend them." In fact, it is not only in this bay, but in many other parts near the weſtern coaſt, that theſe plum trees abound, the fruit of which is carefully gathered by the Indians. The incenſe or reſin tranſudes from theſe and *other trees ſo copiouſly, that it is uſed mixed* with tallow for paying bottoms of ſhips. The mountains and foreſts yield the mezcal, and according to Torquemada the maquey; the roots of which boiled is a principal ingredient in the mexcalli, a kind of food which the natives preſented the Spaniards at the bay of San Franciſco. Here are alſo wild vines, together with a great variety of ſmall plants and herbs. One ſpecies of them called pita, ſupplies the Indians with thread for making their nets and other uſes; and from different herbs they make with admirable ſkill and elegance, a kind of plates and baſkets. The inhabitants on the banks of the river Colorado make of the ſame herbs little tubs or bins, called coritas, which generally hold about two buſhels of maize: and with theſe they tranſport their goods from one ſhore to the other without being in the leaſt damaged by the water, they themſelves ſwimming behind and ſhoving theſe vehicles along before them. Other herbs alſo ſerve them for food; eſpecially three kinds, all of them frequent in New Spain: the firſt is yuca, a large thick root, which they cut into ſlices and expreſs the juice; afterwards it is made into broad thin cakes, and eaten inſtead of bread. The ſecond is the Camotes, which are very ſweet and palatable.

The third is the gicamas, which in taſte exceed thoſe of Mexico: there is ſcarce an herb or root which they do not apply to ſome uſe. Father Franciſco Maria Picolo, one of the firſt miſſionaries that went among them, relates, that they have above fourteen different kinds of ſeeds which they uſe, though he mentions only theſe three; the red frixoles, or kidney beans; the canamones, or hemp ſeed, and alpiſte, a kind of canary ſeed. Beſides theſe trees and roots, here are others which have been tranſplanted by the miſſionaries from the continent, and moſt of them with very good ſucceſs, eſpecially in thoſe parts where they have the conveniency of water; ſo that the banks of the rivers, canals, and watering places are decorated with olives, fig trees, and vines; and in ſome parts, the latter have throve ſo well, as to afford a wine, equal to the beſt in Europe. Father Juan de Ugarte, whom we ſhall have occaſion frequently to mention hereafter, brought hither almoſt every kind of fruit trees growing in New Spain; and having planted them in a ſoil properly prepared on the coaſt of San Miguel, and kept daily watered, they all flouriſhed; the ſame ſucceſs attended the experiments made with wheat, maize, French beans, melons of both kinds, garvanzo, or a kind of peaſe, and all ſorts of eſculents, where-ever they could be ſown and cultivated. It is alſo proper to obſerve, that in the countries not hitherto reduced, lying between the river Colorado and the coaſts of Monte Rey to Cape Mendozino, both the fathers Kino and Juan de Torquemada relate, that there is a great number of large trees, holms, pines, and black and white poplars.

We have not hitherto had any particular account of its minerals; but ſome intelligent perſons are of opinion, that the Sierra Pintada and other parts abound with metals, as they exhibit all the marks and appearances of gold and ſilver mines. Capt. Woods Rogers ſays, that ſome of his men ſaw on the coaſt of California ſeveral heavy, glittering, ſhining ſtones, which they imagined to contain ſome valuable metal; but it was then too late to ſearch for them, or even to carry them on board for a further examination. It is indeed natural to ſuppoſe, that there are many very rich mines in California, as the oppoſite coaſt in the provinces of Sonora and Pimeria are known to abound with them; for in the year 1730 a vein was diſcovered on an eminence, not far from the garriſon of Pimeria, the ore of which, with a little labour, yielded ſo large a quantity of ſilver as ſurpriſed the inhabitants of New Spain; and it remained ſome time a queſtion, whether it was a mine, or treaſures hid by the Indians. Some have alſo been diſcovered which contain veins of other metals: rock ſalt is alſo found here, of a whiteneſs equal to cryſtal, and ſamples of it have been carried to Mexico.

But if the ſoil of California be in general barren, the ſcarcity of proviſions is ſupplied by the adjacent ſea; for both in the Pacifick ocean and the gulf of California, the multitude and variety of fiſhes are incredible. Father Antonio de la Aſcencion, ſpeaking of the bay of San Lucas, ſays, "With the nets which every ſhip carried, they caught a great quantity of fiſh of different kinds, and all wholeſome and palatable: particularly holybuſs, ſalmon, turbots, ſkates, pilchards, large oyſters, thornbacks, mackarel, barbels, bonetos, ſoals, lobſters, and pearl oyſters." And, ſpeaking of the bay of San Franciſco on the weſtern coaſt, he adds: "Here are ſuch multitudes of fiſh, that with a net, which the commodore had on board, more was caught every day, than the ſhip's company could make uſe of: and of theſe a great variety, as crabs, oyſters, breams, mackarel, cod, barbels, thornbacks, &c." And in other parts he makes mention of the infinite number of ſardines, which are left on the ſand at the ebb, and ſo exquiſite, that thoſe of Laredo in Spain, then famous for this fiſh, do not exceed them. Nor are fiſh leſs plentiful along the gulf, where to the above-mentioned ſpecies father Piccolo adds, tunnies, anchovies, and others. Even in the little rivulets of this peninſula are found barbels and crayfiſh: but the moſt diſtinguiſhed fiſh of both ſeas are the whales; which induced the ancient coſmographers to call California, Punta de Balenas, or Cape Whale: and theſe fiſh being found in multitudes along both coaſts, give name to a channel in the gulf, and a bay in the South ſea.

From the fiſh, I ſhall next proceed to the amphibious and teſtaceous kind. Of the former here are very few except the beavers above-mentioned, if they are ſuch, and the ſea wolves, or, as ſome call them, ſea lions: theſe frequent ſome of the ſhores, and the deſert iſlands of both ſeas.

The moſt remarkable among the teſtaceous kind, is the tortoiſe; ſeveral kinds of wilks and other turbines are thrown up by the ſea, in ſuch numbers, that, in ſome parts, the ſhore is quite covered with them. On the coaſt of the South ſea are ſome ſmall ſhell fiſh or conches peculiar to it, and perhaps the moſt beautiful in the world: the luſtre exceeding that of the fineſt mother of pearl, and appearing through a tranſparent varniſh of a moſt vivid blue, like the lapis lazuli. It is thought that were theſe imported to Europe, the aqua marina would be no longer valued: theſe are univalves, and conſequently different from the ſhell fiſh in which the pearls are found, the latter being bivalves, like our oyſters. They are called madres perlas, and found in California, or rather as father Piccolo ſays, along the whole coaſt, and eſpecially the adjacent iſlands, where there are ſo many banks of them, that they may be counted by thouſands. And this abundance of pearls has rendered California ſo famous, that great numbers of perſons during the two laſt centuries, ſtimulated by avidity after this treaſure, have viſited California, ſearched every part of the gulf, and are ſtill continually reſorting hither with no other view, than that of enriching themſelves by theſe pearls. The oyſters in which they are found lie in great numbers on banks in the gulf, and commonly called hoſtias. "The ſea of California, ſays father Torquimada, affords very rich pearl fiſheries, where in three or four fathom water the hoſtias, or beds of oyſters may be ſeen as plain as if they were on the ſurface of the water. He adds, that it was a practice among the Indians to throw the oyſters into the fire, by which means the pearls were deſtroyed; for they uſed only the fleſh of the fiſh: but the avidity of others has communicated its flame, even to this ſimple people; who are now eager to get, and careful to keep, what they have ſeen ſo highly valued by foreigners. This fiſhery is carried on by divers; but as the water in the gulf is not very deep, it is attended with leſs labour and danger, than thoſe on the coaſt of Malabar and other parts of the Eaſt Indies, if we may judge from the narratives given us of them. Great numbers reſort to this fiſhery from the continent of New Spain, New Galicia, Culiacan, Cinaloa, and Sonora: and the many violences committed by the adventurers, to ſatiate if poſſible their covetous temper, have occaſioned reciprocal complaints: nor will they ever ceaſe while the deſire of riches, that bane of ſociety, predominates in the human breaſt.

Father Piccolo obſerves, that in the months of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a kind of manna, which becomes inſpiſſated on the leaves of the trees. He adds, that he taſted it, and though not ſo white as ſugar, it had all the ſweetneſs of it. The good father talks according to the common opinion, as if the manna dropped from the ſky. But botaniſts are agreed, that it is a juice exſudating from the plants themſelves in the ſame manner as gums, incenſe, balſams, reſins, &c. It is no wonder that the trees of California ſhould exſudate manna, ſince many parts of Spain produce it in an aſtoniſhing plenty; and for medical uſes, equal to that of Calabria, or Sicily. This was an advantage formerly little known in Spain, but his majeſty on the repreſentation of the royal college of phyſicians at Madrid in 1752, gave orders, that two of its members ſhould make a further examination of the produce of manna: theſe were don Joſeph Minuart, and don Chriſtopher Velez*. The former was ſent among the mountains of Avila, and the latter among the Pedroches, or ſeven towns of Cordova, ſituated among the mountains of Andaluſia: and that its virtues ſhould experimentally be proved, by exhibiting it to the patient in the hoſpitals. And it has been found that Spain alone produces manna, ſufficient to ſupply the whole world: for not only an incredible quantity of it is gathered in the parts above-mentioned, where it is formed about the dog-days, but likewiſe in the mountains of Aſturias and Galicia, Cuenca, Aragon, Catalonia, and the other provinces, where they call it *mangla*; but hitherto it was only uſed by the bees in forming their combs.

---

* This valuable perſon, to the great loſs of botanical improvements in Spain, died at Madrid in 1753. His moral virtues, extenſive knowledge, and conſummate experience in all parts of natural hiſtory, which made his correſpondence valued by the learned of ſeveral nations, ſeemed, according to human judgment, to render him worthy of a longer life.

SECT. V.

Of the different Nations and Languages of CALIFORNIA.

The word nation generally ſpeaking, has a different import in America, from what it has in Europe; though even in the latter it is not always uſed in the ſame ſenſe. In Europe it is applied to thoſe who inhabit a certain extent of country, or live under one government, whether their language be the ſame or not. In America, there being among the unconquered Indians neither diſtinction, limits of province, nor demarkation of diviſions, as was found in the two empires of Mexico and Peru, all uſing the ſame language, they account one nation; whether they live near one another, or are diſperſed in different rancherias or places of abode: or, if there be any difference in the idiom, but very ſmall, ſome languages being only dialects of another, ſo that they underſtand one another. But when the language is ſo different that they cannot underſtand each other, then they are ſaid to be of different nations. Sometimes indeed the nations do not derive their name from the language they ſpeak, but from the part of the country they inhabit, or ſome other circumſtance of the ſame kind.

With regard to the nations inhabiting California, there have been variety of opinions, as there was alſo concerning their languages. Some miſſionaries have told us, that there are ſix different languages ſpoken in this peninſula: others ſay there are only five. But father Taraval, and ſome others, ſay there are no more than three. This difference ariſes from languages having been judged different by ſome, whilſt others examining more particularly into them, have found that they were only dialects of the ſame language; the difference being too little to make any diſtinction between them.

Among the various opinions this has occaſioned among the narratives, the preference, I think, is due to father Taraval, as none was better acquainted with all thoſe countries; and he was an eye-witneſs of every thing he aſſerts. The languages, ſays this judicious miſſionary, are three, that of Cochimi, Pericu, and Loretto. From the latter two dialects have been formed, namely, Guaycura and Uchiti.

The variation indeed is ſuch, that a perſon unacquainted with the three languages, would be apt to conclude, that there were not only four, but five. The Indians underſtand one another in words, ſignifying the ſame thing, in the the three languages of Loretto, Guaycura, and Uchiti; but theſe are very few. Thoſe who are of opinion that theſe three variations have been formed from two languages, conclude that there muſt have been four. The principal nations yet diſcovered on the peninſula, ſpeak the languages above-mentioned, and divide it into three parts, almoſt equal to each other. The firſt towards the ſouth, from Cape San Lucas, to a little beyond the Puerto de la Pas, is inhabited by the Pericu nations; the ſecond from La Pas, to beyond the garriſon of Loretto, by that of the Monquis; and the third from Loretto northward, as far as is diſcovered, by the Cochimi nation. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that in the territories of one nation or language, there are uſually rancherias or ſettlements of other languages and nations; and theſe general nations are ſubdivided into tribes or families. One language alſo has often different names, and the rancherias, and leſſer nations, as we have already obſerved, uſually take their name, not from the language, but other circumſtances.

In order to proceed with all poſſible perſpecuity, and amidſt ſuch intricacy to avoid error and confuſion, it muſt be remarked, that in the miſſion of Loretto Concho, which is the ſeat of the royal garriſon, and the capital of all the miſſions, they have particular words by which they call the nations of the peninſula, relatively to the part in which they live. The Indians to the ſouth of this territory, they call Edu, Eduu, or Edues; the general name for themſelves is Monqui, or Monquis: and the more northern inhabitants they call Laymones. Theſe three names having their origin in the capital, are pretty well known all over California. But as different perſons ſometimes uſe one name, and ſometimes another, a great deal of confuſion may eaſily reſult; and therefore we muſt obſerve, that the Edues are the ſame with the ſouthern Pericues, though the name of Edues not only includes theſe, but likewiſe ſome branches of the general name of Loretto, or the Monquis. The Laymones are the ſame as the northern Cochimies, though the name of Laymones alſo extends to ſome rancherias of the ſame inland nation of Monqui or Loretto.

The nation of the Pericues or Edues, which I have ſaid inhabit the moſt ſouthern part of California, towards Cape St. Lucas, is ſubdivided into ſeveral tribes, of which the moſt numerous is that of the Coras, originally the name of one rancheria only; but afterwards given to ſome villages, and to the river which diſcharges itſelf into St. Barnaby-bay. The nation of Loretto has no proper name in the Indian tongue, including its whole extenſion: and therefore to denote it in general, we uſe the name of the principal of its branches, or diſtricts, the Monquis. But, beſides theſe, there are others who have their names from the difference of their dialects, the parts where they live, and other incidents. Of theſe, the moſt remarkable are the Uchiti inhabiting the neighbourhood of the bay and town of La Pas: and the Guaycuras, which reach from La Pas along the coaſt of the gulf, to the borders of Loretto. The Monquis themſelves are divided into Liyues, Diduis, and other leſſer branches. They who think the Guaycura and Uchiti are languages different from that of the Monquis, are alſo of opinion that they are different nations, and not branches of the ſame. However, we ſhall follow father Taraval, who conſiders them as one general nation and language. The moſt numerous of all the nations is, that of the Cochimies or Laymones: and, indeed, hitherto the utmoſt limits of their language are not known. This nation is likewiſe divided into ſeveral branches, who have their ſmall variations in the idiom, termination, and pronunciation: and the like is obſervable in the moſt northern miſſion, conſecrated to St. Ignatius; in the whole remaining coaſt to the river Colorado; and, on the oppoſite weſtern coaſt, in the part called San Xavier, and the iſland de los Dolores.

Theſe are all the nations which hitherto have been reduced; but the nation and language of the Cochimies, ſeem to extend beyond the laſt miſſion of San Ignacio. But beſides thoſe already converted, others have been diſcovered on the continent of Pimeria, who muſt not here be omitted, as belonging to California. Father Kino relates, that in his journey from the Pimeria, to the Colorado, and paſſing that river, at the place where it receives the waters of the Gila, he found along its banks, on the Californian ſide, the nations of the Bagiopas, the Heabonomas, the Iguanas, and Cutguanes or Cueganas. In his map he places the Bagiopas, about the mouth of the Colorado, and the Heabonomas a little above them, on the eaſt ſide of that river, oppoſite to the Yumas and Quiquimas, which inhabit the weſt. The ſame father, a little above the conflux of the Gila and Colorado, to the weſt of the former, and eaſt of the latter, found the nation of the Alchedomas, dwelling along the weſt ſide of the Colorado, in numerous, large, and populous rancherias; they alſo inhabit the banks of the river Gila, contiguous to them. He adds, that a Cocomaricopan aſſured him, that on the other ſide of the river Colorado, towards California, lived another nation, called Cuculatos, but ſo unknown, that he could get no ſatisfactory account of it. The other nations inhabiting the countries between the river Colorado, Monte Rey, and cape Mendozino, and the remaining country, along theſe coaſts, are almoſt utterly unknown, ſo that nothing can be affirmed of them with certainty, which the candour, due to the publick, requires.

Of all the nations hitherto diſcovered, the Californians are at leaſt equal to any in the make of their bodies. Their faces alſo are far from being diſagreeable, though their daubing them with ointments, painting them, and boring holes through their noſtrils and ears are very great diſadvantages. Their complexion indeed is more tanned and ſwarthy than that of the other Indians of New Spain. But they are in general robuſt, vigorous, and of a healthy countenance. There is no appearance, that the Californians have hitherto had any knowledge of the wonderful contrivance of letters, by which we converſe with the ancients, and preſerve the tranſactions of former ages. Nor had any of the American nations the leaſt idea of ſo noble an invention. It muſt however be owned, that the Peruvians had ſomething very nearly equivalent to it in their quipos, or ſtrings of different colours, which with a ſagacity really ſurpriſing, they preſerved their traditions and antiquities, and applied them to ſeveral other uſes neceſſary in ſociety. A more particular account of theſe quipos is given by father Acoſta, Garcilaſo, and Martin Murua, whoſe manuſcript ſo highly commended by don Nicholas Antonio, is yet preſerved in the library of the jeſuits college at Alcala de Heneras in Old Spain; and ſeveral copies of it are in other places.

The Mexicans made uſe of ſymbols and hieroglyphicks, by which they painted events, and ſufficiently indicated an admirable genius; and by this means they preſerved the knowledge of their religion, laws, and hiſtory, and even the rights of particular families. Their chronology, cycles, and computations cannot be conſidered without aſtoniſhment. Some account of their hieroglyphicks and painted memorials may be ſeen in Gomara, Dias del Caſtillo, Acoſta, Herrera, Torquimada, Solis, Betancourt, and almoſt all others who have treated of the affairs of Mexico, particularly father Kircher, Gemelli Careri, mr. Purchas, and other foreign authors.

Had the Californians been acquainted with the uſe of letters, we ſhould eaſily have diſcovered whether the founders of the American nations paſſed from Aſia to the continent or not: and whether this happened before, or ſince, the invention of characters in Aſia and Europe. We ſhould alſo have been able to have formed ſome reaſonable conjecture with regard to the particular nation of the firſt peoplers of this extenſive continent.

Of all the parts of America hitherto diſcovered, the Californians lie neareſt to Aſia. We are acquainted with the mode of writing in all the eaſtern nations. We can diſtinguiſh between the characters of the Japoneſe, the Chineſe, the Chineſe Tartars, the Mogul Tartars, and other nations extending as far as the bay of Kamſchathka; and learned diſſertations on them, by mr. Bayer, are to be found in the acts of the Imperial academy of ſciences at Peterſburg. What diſcovery would it be to meet with any of theſe characters, or others like them among the American Indians neareſt to Aſia? But as to the Californians, if ever they were poſſeſſed of any invention to perpetuate their memoirs, they have entirely loſt it: and all that is now found among them, amounts to no more than ſome obſcure oral traditions, probably more and more adulterated by a long ſucceſſion of time. They have not ſo much as retained any knowledge of the particular country from which they emigrated; ſo that both the Edues or Pericues, and the Cochimies or Laymones could give no farther account, than that they heard their anceſtors came from the north; and this might be concluded without their information, California being on all ſides environed with the ſea, except on the north, where it joins to the continent. Beſides, there is little reaſon to think, that the firſt ſettlers came hither by ſea; nor can they give any account of the time when they came hither; for their ſtupidity and ignorance are ſo great, that they do not appear to have among them any means of diſtinguiſhing the years, or the intervals of times, as the Mexicans did, by means of their cycles of fifty years. They indeed ſeem ſomething better acquainted with the occaſion, on which their anceſtors removed from their native ſettlements in the north, down into California: which, according to their tradition, was owing to a quarrel at a banquet, where the chief men of ſeveral nations were met. This was followed by a bloody battle; and the ſide which was defeated, flew towards the ſouth, and were eagerly purſued by the victors, till they ſheltered themſelves among the foreſts and mountains of this peninſula.

Others ſay the quarrel was only between two great men, who divided the nation into two oppoſite factions; and after a great ſlaughter, one obliged the other to ſeek for ſafety among the mountains and iſlands of the ſea: this is all the information the miſſionaries have been able to procure, with regard to the origin and emigration of the Californians. And here it may be obſerved, how free they are from the vanity of many poliſhed nations, who affect to trace their origin from remote countries, and to decorate their anceſtors with many plauſible and pompous ſtories. It ſeems indeed ſomething ſtrange, that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves the deſcendants of perſons obliged by a ſuperior force to quit their country, when they might eaſily have pretended to be the offspring of conquerors; though there are not wanting two illuſtrious examples among the ancients of the like candour; the two noble ſtates of Rome and Carthage, boaſted of deriving their origin from perſons who had been driven from their country; the former from the conquered Trojans, and the latter from Tyrian fugitives. But be this as it may, the moſt probable conjecture is, that theſe nations, and all others in America, have paſſed over from Aſia ſince the diſperſion of nations and the confuſion of tongues. Tho' it may at the ſame time be affirmed, that hitherto there has not been found in any of the American nations on either ſide of the equinox, one ſingle, authentick, and clear monument, of their being originally from Aſia, or of their ſuppoſed tranſition into America. Nor is there in the furtheſt parts of Aſia, to which the Ruſſians have hitherto penetrated, the leaſt veſtige, or tradition, that the inhabitants had ever any communication with, or knowledge of, the Americans.

SECT. VI.

Of the temper and manners of the CALIFORNIANS; and of their government in peace and war.

To thoſe who have ſeen any of the American nations, and obſerved their genius and diſpoſition, it would be ſufficient to ſay in general, that the ancient inhabitants of California did not in the leaſt differ from them; except thoſe of the two empires of Mexico and Peru, in which, as there was a greater union and intercourſe, ſo the fruits of it were ſeen in the cultivation of their reaſon, in their laws, policy, and military conduct, and in the other branches of government, as well as in the reciprocal and friendly dependencies on one another. But all the other American nations differ very little, either in capacity, diſpoſition, or cuſtoms. The characteriſticks of the Californians, as well as of all the other Indians, are ſtupidity and inſenſibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconſtancy, impetuoſity, and blindneſs of appetite; an exceſſive ſloth and abhorrence of all labour and fatigue; an inceſſant love of pleaſure and amuſement of every kind, however trifling or brutal; puſillanimity and relaxity: and in fine, a moſt wretched want of every thing which conſtitutes the real man, and renders him rational, inventive, tractable, and uſeful to himſelf and ſociety. It is not eaſy for Europeans, who never were out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of theſe people. For even in the leaſt frequented corners of the globe, there is not a nation ſo ſtupid, of ſuch contracted ideas, and ſo weak both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians. Their underſtanding comprehends little more than what they ſee: abſtract ideas, and much leſs a chain of reaſon, being far beyond their power; ſo that they ſcarce ever improve their firſt ideas; and theſe are in general falſe, or at leaſt inadequate. It is in vain to repreſent to them any future advantages, which will reſult to them, by doing or abſtaining from this or that particular immediately preſent; the relation of means and ends being beyond the ſtretch of their faculties. Nor have they the leaſt notion of purſuing ſuch intentions as will procure themſelves ſome future good, or guard them againſt evils. Their inſenſibility, with regard to corporeal objects which lie before them, being ſo great, that it may eaſily be conceived, what ſentiments they can have with regard to rewards and puniſhments in a future life. They have only a few faint glimmerings of the moral virtues and vices; ſo that ſome things appear good and others evil, without any reflection: and though they enjoyed the light of natural reaſon, and that divine grace which is given to all without diſtinction, yet the one was ſo weak, and the other ſo little attended to, that, without any regard to decency, pleaſure and profit were the motives and end of all their actions.

Their will is proportionate to their faculties; and all their paſſions move in a very narrow ſphere; ambition they have none, and are more deſirous of being accounted ſtrong than valiant: the objects of ambition with us, honour, fame, or reputation, titles, poſts, and diſtinctions of ſuperiority, are unknown among them; ſo that this powerful ſpring of action, the cauſe of ſo much ſeeming good and real evil in the world, has no power here. The moſt that is obſerved in them, is ſome ſenſibility of emulation; to ſee their companions praiſed or rewarded rouſes them, and is indeed the only thing which ſtimulates, and prevails on them to ſhake off their innate ſloth. They are equally free from avarice, that deſtructive paſſion which makes ſuch havock in polite nations. The utmoſt extent of their deſires is to get the preſent day's food without much fatigue, taking little care for that of the enſuing day. As for furniture, it conſiſts wholly in their inſtruments, mean as they are, for fiſhing, hunting, and war. Laſtly, what purſuit of wealth or eagerneſs in acquiring eſtates can be expected among them, who have neither houſe, field, nor diviſions of lands; and who know no other rights, than that of being the firſt in gathering for their uſe the ſpontaneous productions of the earth.

This diſpoſition of mind, as it gives them up to an amazing languor and laſſitude, their lives fleeting away in a perpetual inactivity, and deteſtation of labour; ſo it likewiſe induces them to be attracted by the firſt object, which their own fancy, or the perſuaſion of another, place before them: and at the ſame time renders them as prone to alter their reſolutions with the ſame facility. They look with indifference on any kindneſs done them; nor is even the bare remembrance of it to be expected from them. Their hatred and revenge are excited by the ſlighteſt cauſes: but they are as eaſily appeaſed, and even without any ſatisfaction, eſpecially if they meet with oppoſition. For though courage ſeems the only thing they value, it may with truth be ſaid, that they have not the leaſt notion of true bravery. Their rancour and fury laſt no longer than while they meet with no reſiſtance. The leaſt thing daunts them; and when once they begin to yield, their fear will induce them to ſtoop to the baſeſt indignities. As, on the contrary, by obtaining any advantage, or if the enemy becomes diſheartened, they ſwell with a moſt extravagant pride. In a word, the unhappy mortals may be compared to children, in whom the developement of reaſon is not completed. They may indeed be called a nation, who never arrive at manhood. Their predominant paſſion is ſuitable to ſuch an unhappy condition, in which they make ſo little uſe of reaſon, I mean a violent fondneſs for all kind of diverſion, pleaſure, feſtivals, games, dancings, and revels, in which they brutiſhly waſte their miſerable days. However, in the Californians are ſeen few of thoſe bad diſpoſitions, for which the other Americans are infamous. No inebriating liquors are uſed among them; and it is only on their feſtivals that they intoxicate themſelves, and then with the ſmoak of wild tobacco. What little every one has is ſafe from theft; quarrels are rarely known among them; and the ſeveral members of a rancheria live in great harmony among themſelves, and peaceably with others. All their malice and rage they reſerve for their enemies. And ſo far are they from obſtinacy, harſhneſs, or cruelty, that nothing could exceed their docility and gentleneſs: conſequently they are eaſily perſuaded to good or evil.

The government of the Californians cannot be ſuppoſed to exceed the ſhort limits of their capacity; there being among them, as we have already obſerved, neither diviſion of lands or poſſeſſions, and conſequently no ſucceſſion to immoveables, nor any other claim of patrimonial rights; nor, on the other hand, any complaints of illegal intruſions. Every nation or language conſiſts of ſeveral rancherias, more or leſs in number according to the fertility of the ſoil; and each rancheria of one or more families united by conſanguinity. But when the miſſionaries came among them, neither the rancherias nor the nations had a chief or ſuperior, to whom they paid obedience, or whoſe authority they acknowledged by any kind of tribute or external ceremonies. Every family governed itſelf according to their own fancy; and the natural obedience from ſons to fathers was very little, after the former were able to provide for themſelves. The ſorcerers and jugglers, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, were poſſeſſed of ſome kind of ſuperiority; but this laſted no longer than the time of their feſtivals, or during the time of ſickneſs, or other incidents, which excited their fear or ſuperſtition. However, in the rancherias, and even in the nations the miſſionaries found one, two, or more, who gave orders for gathering the products of the earth; directed the fiſheries and the military expeditions, in caſe of a quarrel with any other rancheria or nation. This dignity was not obtained by blood and deſcent, nor by age, ſuffrages, or a formal election; the neceſſity of applying for inſtruction to one or more few, in ſome common exigency, rendered it natural, that, with a tacit conſent, he who was brave, expert, artful, or eloquent, ſhould be promoted to the command; but his authority was limited to terms impoſed by the fancy of thoſe, who, without well knowing how, quietly ſubmitted to him. This leader, or caſique, conducted them to the foreſts and ſea coaſts in queſt of food; ſent and received the meſſages to and from the adjacent ſtates; informed them of dangers; ſpirited them up to the revenge of injuries, whether real or feigned, done by other rancherias or nations; and headed them in their wars, ravages, and depredations. In all other particulars every one was entire maſter of his liberty.

The dreſs throughout the whole peninſula, from Cape San Lucas to the laſt miſſion of San Ignacio, was uniform; for the males, whether children or adults, went at all times totally naked. But admidſt this naked ſimilarity, there was ſome diverſity in the ornaments uſed by every nation. The Edues towards Cape San Lucas decorated their heads with ſtrings of pearls braided with their hair: with theſe they interwove ſmall feathers, the whole forming an ornament, which at a diſtance reſembled in ſome meaſure a periwig. Thoſe of Loretto generally wore round their waſte a ſightly girdle; and on their forehead a curious fillet of net work: to theſe ſome added a neckcloth with ſome well wrought figures of nacar; and ſometimes ſmall round fruits like beads, which, in ſome meaſure, reſembled a roſary hanging on their breaſt, of which poſſibly they might have had ſome knowledge in former times, at the firſt arrival of the jeſuits. They alſo adorned their arms with the ſame works, as with bracelets. The Cochines of the north uſually kept their hair ſhort, except a few, who let ſome locks grow to their full length. If they did not uſe pearls like thoſe of the ſouth, they had a more ſplendid ornament, a kind of diadem, or crown formed of ſeveral bands of nacar. To compoſe this, they firſt detached the mother of pearl from the ſhell, gave it a fine poliſh on both ſides; and by means of a flint ſevered it into pieces of ſix or eight lines in length, or two or three in breadth. At the extremities of theſe were ſmall holes for forming them into a circular ſhape adapted to the head; the little bandlets of nacar hanging down on all ſides. This kind of diadems was alſo anciently wore by the ſouthern Edues, who formed them of ſmall white round ſnail ſhells, reſembling pearls, and made a fine appearance. Probably this occaſioned the falſe opinion of ſir Francis Drake, who, as father Eſquerer relates, believed the Indians offered him the crown and ſcepter of California.

The women, though in ſome parts they went naked like the men, according to father Ferdinando Conſage, who obſerved that this cuſtom prevailed in the bay de Los Angelos, between the laſt miſſion of San Ignacio and the Rio Colorado, yet they in general ſhewed a great attention to that decency, which is ſo neceſſary to the defence of their virtue; and to ſuch a degree, that even their infants of the female ſex were not without a proper covering. After the ſettlement of the garriſon of Loretto, they expreſſed great offence, when they obſerved any neglect of this in the daughters of the Spaniſh ſoldiers. The moſt decent in their cloathing were the women of the Edues towards Cape San Lucas. In this diſtrict is a certain ſpecies of palm trees, different from thoſe which produce dates; and from theſe the Indian women procure materials for their petticoats. In order to which, they beat its leaves as we do flax, till the thread or filaments are ſeparated, which, after this preparation, if they are not finer than thoſe of flax, they are at leaſt better and ſofter than thoſe of hackled hemp. Their garments conſiſt of three pieces; two of which form a petticoat, reaching from the girdle to the feet, and the third a ſhort cloak or mantelet, which covers the body from the ſhoulders. Theſe pieces are not woven, but the threads are faſtened at the top with one another as in fringes, and hang down in very cloſe and thick ſkains and tufts. And though they make a ſort of linen of theſe jutas or palm threads, they only uſe it for bags, in which they keep their inſtruments. The Indian women of Cape San Lucas wear their hair long, looſe, and ſpread over their ſhoulders: but their head dreſs is the ſame with that generally uſed by all the women of California. It conſiſts of a piece of net work made of the above-mentioned palm threads; and when they cannot procure theſe, of mezcales and other herbs. Theſe nets however, are made with ſuch ingenuity, that the ſoldiers of the garriſon likewiſe uſe them. They alſo make very ſightly necklaces of nacar interſperſed with ſmall ſhells, pieces of ſedge, pearls, and the ſtones of fruit: the ends of the necklaces hang down to the waiſt; their bracelets are of the ſame faſhion and materials. Inventions which their fondneſs for ornament, and a deſire of making an attracting appearance ſuggeſted to the rude people of this corner of the world.

The women of the northern parts wear a different and meaner garment, being covered only from the waiſt to the knees; before they have a petticoat made of very thin pieces of ſedge cut off at the knots, and about the ſize of a ſtraw. Theſe they faſten together with meſcal threads, This petticoat, if it may be called ſuch, hides thoſe parts which nature has taught them to conceal; but does not defend them from the inclemencies of the weather. When they cannot procure ſedge, they make uſe of an apron, or petticoat made of the meſcal threads hanging down in the ſame manner; but the hinder part is made with a piece of the ſkin of a deer, or any other beaſt which their huſbands have killed. In ſome few places it is the cuſtom to cover their bodies with mantelets of the ſkins of ſea-wolves, hares, foxes, and other beaſts. One of the higheſt feſtivals among the Cochines, according to father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, was the day in which they annually diſtributed the ſkins to the women. All the neighbouring rancherias, he tells us, met at an appointed place, and there, with branches of trees and buſhes, erected a ſpacious arbour, from which they cleared a broad and level way for racers. Hither they brought the ſkins of all the beaſts they had killed that year; and laid them as a carpet along the courſe. None but the Caſiques and chiefs were admitted into the arbour; and when the banquet, which conſiſted of game, fiſh, and fruit, was over, they inebriated themſelves with cimarron, or wild tobacco. At the entrance of the arbour, one of the ſorcerers uſed to take his place, dreſſed in the habit of ceremony,

mony, and, with wild vociferations, proclaimed the praiſes of the hunters. In the mean time, the other Indians run to and fro in a frantick manner on the ſkins; while the women, who aſſiſted at this ceremony, ſung and danced with equal tranſport. This continued till the orator was quite ſpent, when the harangue concluded, and together with it the races. The Caſiques then came out of the arbour, and diſtributed to the women the ſkins for their cloathing that year; and this diſtribution was celebrated with freſh rejoicings. The foundation of all this feſtivity was, that theſe poor women were acquainted with no greater ornament than the ſkin of a deer, though it ſcarcely covered their nakedneſs, with any tolerable degree of modeſty.

The men, however, were ſuch ſtrangers to that virtue, that they looked upon thoſe principles as ignominious and diſgraceful, which required their being cloathed; and, accordingly, in the ſeveral miſſions and ſettlements, formerly made in California, when the fathers or ſoldiers offered the Indians cloaths, they either refuſed them, or afterwards threw them away. Indeed, their idea with regard to cloathing, was ſo different from the reſt of the human ſpecies, that, according to father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, they were highly affronted when the father firſt directed them, to cover, at leaſt, what modeſty requires, not being in the leaſt ſenſible of any indecency from their being naked: and it cauſed among them as much laughter, to ſee one of their countrymen cloathed, as a monkey dreſſed like an officer would among us; of which the fathers had a diverting inſtance: a miſſionary, lately arrived at his miſſion, cloathed two little boys, which he entertained in his houſe, firſt to teach him the language, and afterwards to ſerve him as catechumens. The father himſelf was at the pains of cutting out, making, and fitting the cloaths for them. When the lads firſt went abroad in their new dreſs, it occaſioned ſuch indecent mirth, that the boys, aſhamed at being thus the ridicule of their countrymen, pulled off their cloaths, and hung them on a tree. But being unwilling to ſhew themſelves ungrateful to the father, and at the ſame time to avoid being reprimanded, they determined to divide his kindneſs, going in the day time naked, among their relations, and at night dreſſed themſelves to return to the father.

The houſes of the Californians make no better appearance than their habits. Thoſe of every rancheria are only wretched huts, near the few waters found in this country. And as there is a neceſſity of removing to other places in queſt of ſubſiſtence, they eaſily ſhift their ſtation. Where-ever they ſtop, they ſhelter themſelves under the trees, from the ſcorching heat of the ſun in the day time, and in ſome meaſure from the coldneſs of the night, and the inclemency of the weather. In the ſeverity of the winter, they live in ſubterraneous caverns, which they either made themſelves, or found in the ſides of mountains. The people near Cape San Lucas, make huts of the branches of trees, like thoſe of ſhepherds, which they doubtleſs learned from ſeamen, who have been obliged to lie at anchor ſome time off the cape. In the other parts of the country their houſes are only a little ſpace, incloſed with ſtones laid upon one another, half a yard high, one ſquare, and without any covering but the heavens: dwellings indeed ſo ſcanty and mean, that an European tomb would here be reckoned a palace. For within this ſmall precinct, they have not room to lie at full length; ſo that they ſleep in a ſitting poſture. In the cabeceras, indeed, ſome, to pleaſe the fathers, have made themſelves houſes, if they may be called ſuch, of adobe or unburnt bricks, covered with ſedge; but few live in them, nor is there a poſſibility of bringing them to it; for they ſhew the greateſt uneaſineſs, when obliged to live under any covering: an evident proof that the greateſt part of what are called the neceſſaries of life, ariſe purely from fancy, example, and cuſtom.

It is true, they ſtand in no need of large rooms for depoſiting their furniture, and the various implements of a wardrobe, for which the greateſt part of the houſes among us is taken up. With ſo little furniture, and ſo few utenſils do the Indians content themſelves, that in removing, they take them all on their ſhoulders; for they conſiſt only of a boat, a dart, a diſh, a bowl made in the ſhape of a high crowned hat, a bone which ſerves them for an awl in making it, a little piece of touchwood for kindling a fire, a pita net, in which they put their fruit and ſeeds, another in the ſhape of a purſe or bag, faſtened to a kind of prong acroſs their ſhoulders, in which they carry their children, and laſtly, their bow and arrows; to which ſome, who affect elegancy, add a ſhell for drinking. Thoſe who live near the coaſts have alſo nets for fiſhing. This furniture the women carry, when they remove from one place to another; the men have only the bow and arrows with their appurtenances, as flints and feathers for the arrows, and nerves for the bows. But to ſecure them, and at the ſame time, not to incommode them in their march, they make holes in their ears, where they hang a large caſe which holds every thing they carry. The men likewiſe carry a ſmall bit of wood for procuring fire, which is ſoon done by rubbing it between their hands. The men alſo carry the boats, but it is the womens taſk to mend them: they make them of the bark of trees; and every part of the workmanſhip, the ſhaping, joining, and covering them is admired even by Europeans; and they ſometimes uſe them for fetching and preſerving water, and ſometimes for roaſting their grains and fruits, but are obliged to keep them in continual motion, that they may not burn. Their bowls, cups, and pots, they uſe for eating and drinking; and likewiſe the hats or head pieces worn by the women againſt the ſeverity of the weather. It ſeems ſtrange, that they never thought of uſing clay for theſe utenſils, by hardening it in the ſun or fire; but nothing of this was found among them, they being totally ignorant of any ſuch method, till they were taught it. The men likewiſe make the nets for fiſhing, for gathering the fruits, and for carrying the children, and even thoſe worn by the women. But in this particular, they ſhew ſuch exquiſite ſkill; making them of ſo many different colours, ſizes, ſuch variety of workmanſhip, that it is not eaſy to deſcribe them. Father Taraval ſays, "I can

"I can affirm that of all the nets I ever ſaw in Europe and New Spain, none are comparable to theſe, either in whiteneſs, the mixture of the other colours, or the ſtrength and workmanſhip, in which they repreſent a vaſt variety of figures." The women however, have ſo far a hand in theſe nets, that they ſpin the very fine thread, which they procure from herbs, and another coarſer ſort of threads from the palms and mezcales. Of the fine thread they form the net work for the head, the other parts being made of a mixture of both ſorts; as are likewiſe all the other kinds, together with thoſe curious and cloſely braided girdles or fillets, uſed by the nation of Loretto.

The Edues, or ſouthern Pericues, admitted a plurality of wives, who took care of the ſuſtenance of the family, and were very diligent in bringing to their huſbands a ſufficient quantity of fruits from the foreſt to keep them in a good temper. For if once they were diſcarded, which depended wholly on his humour, few were found who would take them: ſo that the more wives a huſband had, he was ſure to be the better provided for; a particular, which chiefly contributed to keep up this brutal cuſtom. The nation of Loretto were ſomething more moderate, the chief men among them never exceeding two wives, whilſt the commonalty contented themſelves with one. Adultery was accounted a crime which juſtly called for revenge, except on two occaſions; one at their feſtivals and routs, and the other at their wreſtling matches amongſt the rancherias; as on theſe occaſions it was the ſcandalous privilege of the victor. Among the Cochimies of the north, ſcarce any ſuch exceſs was known: and a miſſionary, ſpeaking of his diſtrict, ſays, that amidſt the unbounded freedom of theſe Indians, one does not ſee among them any debauchery or illegal amours: which he attributes to the uncomfortable life they lead among the mountains in hunger, cold, nakedneſs, and the want of every thing deſirable. The manner of negociating their marriages in the nation of Loretto, was to preſent the bride by way of earneſt with a batea or jug, in their language called olo, made of mezcale thread. Her acceptance of it denoted her conſent: and on her part, ſhe was to make her return in a net for the head; and this reciprocation of preſents confirmed the marriage. In other nations, the agreement was concluded at the end of a ball, to which the lover invited the whole rancheria; but after all this ſolemnity of the contract, any ſlight motive annulled it; and even in nations, among whom polygamy was not allowed. The Californians had adopted that abſurdity, which is ſo much laughed at in the accounts of Brazil, that the women after delivery, uſed immediately to go to ſome water and waſh themſelves and the child; and in other particulars to obſerve no manner of caution, going to the foreſt for wood and food, and performing every other ſervice the huſband wanted: whilſt he in the mean time lay in his cave, or ſtretched at full length under a tree affecting to be extremely weak and ill; and this farce continued for three or four days. Mothers were frequently known to deſtroy their children, in any ſcarcity of food, till the venerable father Salva-Tierra to put a ſtop to this unnatural practice, by ordering, that a double allowance ſhould be given to women newly delivered. It was alſo an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among them, like that in the Jewiſh law, for the widow to marry the brother, or neareſt relation of the deceaſed.

The time of gathering the pitahayas was their vintage: and they celebrated it with particular mirth and rejoicings. "The three pitahaya months, ſays father Salva-Tierra, reſemble the carnaval in ſome parts of Europe, when the men are in a great meaſure ſtupified or mad. The natives here alſo throw aſide what little reaſon they have, giving themſelves up to feaſtings, dancings, entertainments of the neighbouring rancherias, buffooneries, and comedies, ſuch as they are: and in theſe, whole nights are ſpent to the high diverſion of the audience. The actors are ſelected for their talent of imitation; and they execute their parts admirably well." As to their dances, ſays the father, "there is a great variety of them, and the performers acquit themſelves with much agility and gracefulneſs. We kept our Chriſtmas here with equal pleaſure and devotion, ſome hundreds of Indian catechumens being preſent, and above one hundred children performed their dances. Theſe are very different from thoſe of the nations of the other coaſt, they having above thirty of them repreſenting ſome eſſential part of their military diſcipline, fiſhery, travelling, burying, hunting, marrying, and the like: and a child of three or four years old will ſhew as much joy at his having performed his part well, as young men of warm emulation and judgment; a particular, with which we were very much entertained, and could not forbear admiring."

As practice naturally produces perfection, their excellence in theſe kinds of dances is not to be wondered at, it being their whole occupation in time of peace. They dance at their weddings; on any good ſucceſs in their fiſhing or hunting; at the birth of their children; at a plentiful harveſt; at a victory over their enemies, and on any other occaſion, without weighing the importance of it. To theſe feſtivities the rancherias uſually invite one another; and likewiſe often ſend challenges for wreſtling, leaping, running, ſhooting with their bow, and trials of ſtrength; and in theſe and the like ſports, days and nights, weeks and months were often ſpent in times of peace. But theſe tranquil ſeaſons were ſubject to frequent interruptions by wars, factions, and feuds of ſome nations and rancherias againſt others. The end of theſe commotions was not the acquiſition of fame, or the enlargement of their territories, but uſually in revenge for affronts, or injureis among private perſons: or ſometimes they aroſe from more ſubſtantial cauſes, when a rancheria or nation went to fiſh, hunt, or gather fruits, where another had a kind of right by preſcription. The manner of revenge was to commit ſome hoſtility, or do ſome damage to the perſon chiefly offending; or, if he was beyond their power, to do it to his kindred or rancheria: after this all made the cauſe their own: and if they did not think themſelves able to give battle to their enemies, they applied to other rancherias with whom they were in friendſhip for ſuccour. The manner of declaring war was with a frightful noiſe, ordering every one to provide great quantities of reeds and flints; taking care that this declaration ſhould reach their adverſaries, that by terrifying them, they might obtain the eaſier victory: when they came to action they ſet up a ſhout, and engaged without any regularity, except in relieving the bodies in the front, when they gave way, either as quite ſpent, or for want of arrows; which were made of reeds, with ſharp flints for their points, but not poiſoned; though we may ſuppoſe it was not from generoſity, but their ignorance of any kind of poiſon, no deleterious plant being as yet known in the whole country. When the engagement became cloſe, they made uſe of a kind of wooden ſpears with the points ſharpened and hardened in the fire: and theſe did equal execution, with thoſe pointed with ſteel. The victory was gained not ſo much by addreſs, conduct, ſtrength, and courage, as by keeping up their ſpirits againſt their innate fear, or inſpiring the enemy with it. Thus their diſputes and private injuries continued to increaſe till they became general, and broke out into a formal war, in which numbers on both ſides were ſlain, and many of the rancherias in the ſouth have been totally deſtroyed by theſe inteſtine quarrels. Nor are thoſe of Loretto and the northern free from diſturbances, but they never carry their revenge to ſuch exceſs, eſpecially thoſe of the north, who are obſerved to be of a more noble diſpoſition and clear underſtanding. They are likewiſe more mild and ſociable; having little of the obſtinacy and vindictive temper of their countrymen.

SECT. VII.

Of the ancient religion of the CALIFORNIANS.

The moſt intereſting ſubject for curioſity, and which requires the greateſt accuracy and attention in treating of it, is the ancient religion of the Californians. And the uſe to be made of ſuch reſearches in favour of our holy religion, may be ſeen in the famous biſhop Huet's Demonſtratio evangelica, where, with amazing erudition, he enumerates the different ſects, ancient and modern, of all nations in the world, to increaſe, from their darkneſs, the luſtre of the chriſtian diſpenſation. On the other hand a faithful repreſentation of the ſhadow of death, in which theſe Indians lay immerſed, will heighten the greatneſs of the divine goodneſs, in bringing them into the boſom of his church, and leading them in the way to happineſs, from their total ignorance of religion; which was even attended with many temporal evils. Theſe accounts may further be compared with thoſe, which the curious are already poſſeſſed of, relating to the ſects and religion, not only of the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other inhabitants of America, but of the moſt eaſtern nations of Aſia, the Japoneſe, Chineſe, Tartars, Corees, Manchees, the people of Kamſchatka, and Jacukt. This is however one of the articles, where no poſſible attention can give entire ſatisfaction; but will leave many uncertainties and imperfections.

All relations agree, that hitherto no idolatry has been found among the Californians. They neither worſhipped any creatures, nor had any repreſentations, or images of falſe deities, to whom they paid any kind of adoration. Nor had they among them any temples, oratories, altars, or any other place ſet apart for religious exerciſes. Indeed no ſuch thing was known there, no outward profeſſion of religion in feſtivals, prayers, vows, expiations, or any publick or private marks of addreſſes being made to God, or even of any knowledge of him; ſo that they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves in the leaſt from the ſavage, and deplorable blindneſs of their neighbours, the Indians in the oppoſite coaſt of Cinaloa, of whom father Rivas ſays, that ſcarce any trace of religion was to be found among them, nor did their external performances ſhew the leaſt knowledge of God. The accounts however, mention, that there was among them a ſeries of ſpeculative tenets, which muſt ſurpriſe the reader. For they not only had an idea of the unity and nature of God as a pure ſpirit, and likewiſe of other ſpiritual beings; but alſo ſome faint glimmerings of the Trinity; the eternal generation of the logos, and other articles of the Chriſtian religion, though mixed with a thouſand abſurdities. And this light was ſo clear in them, that ſome miſſionaries have been induced to think, that they were deſcended from a people which had formerly been chriſtians. In theſe tenets however, there was ſome difference among the principal nations, and that the reader may have the better idea of them, I ſhall faithfully copy ſome fragments of narratives which I have in my hands.

One of the miſſionaries ſpeaking of the ſouthern Edues or Pericues, gives the following account of their religious principles. There is, ſay they, in heaven, a lord of great power, called Niparaya, who made the earth and the ſea; gives food to all creatures; created the trees and every thing we ſee; and can do whatſoever he pleaſes. We don't ſee him, becauſe he has no body as we have. This Niparaya has a wife called Anayicoyondi: and though he makes no uſe of her, as having no body, he has had three ſons: Of theſe one is Quaayayp, i. e. man; and Anayicoyondi was delivered of him in the mountains of Acaragui; though others ſay, that it was among ſome red mountains in the road from San Jago de los Coras, and which they call Cunimniici. Quaayayp has been with them (the ſouthern Indians) and taught them. He was very powerful, and had a great number of men: for he went into the earth, and brought people from thence. At length the Indians through hatred killed him: and at the ſame time put a wreath of thorns on his head. He is dead to this day; but remains very beautiful, and without any corruption. Blood is continually running from him: he does not ſpeak as being dead; but he has a tecolote or owl which ſpeaks to him. They further ſay, that in heaven there are many more inhabitants than on earth: and that formerly there were great wars in that place: a perſon of eminent power, whom ſome learned men call Wac, and others Tuparan roſe up againſt the ſupreme lord Niparaya, and being joined by numerous adherents dared to ſtand a battle with him. But was totally defeated by Niparaya, who immediately deprived Wac Tuparan of all his power, his fine pitahayas, and his other proviſions; turned him out of heaven, and confined him and his followers in a vaſt cave under the earth: and created the whales in the ſea to be as guards, that they ſhould not leave their place of confinement. They add, that the ſupreme lord Niparaya does not love that people ſhould fight; and that thoſe who die by an arrow or ſpear do not go to heaven. But on the contrary Wac Tuparan wiſhes that all people were continually fighting; becauſe all who are killed in battle go to his cave. There are two parties among the Indians; one ſiding with Niparaya, and are a ſerious diſcreet people, open to conviction, and readily liſten to the chriſtian truths which are inforced upon them from their own tenets. The other party is that devoted to Wac Tuparan; and are of very perverſe diſpoſitions, ſorcerers, and unfortunately very numerous. Theſe partiſans of Wac Tuparan have ſeveral opinions peculiar to themſelves, and entirely monſtrous: as that the ſtars are ſhining pieces of metal; that the moon was created by Cucunumic, the ſtars by Purutabui, and the like. Hitherto from the narratives of the dogmas of the Edues or Pericues, the tenets of the Loretto nation, which is an aſſemblage of Laymones, Monquies, Vehities, and Guacuros; living, as we have already obſerved, in the middle part of California, are ſufficiently explained in the following fragment. They have no word in their language ſignifying heaven, but they expreſs it by the general word notu, which ſignifies above or high. They alſo ſay, that in the north part of heaven lives the ſpirit of ſpirits, which they call Gumongo: he ſends peſtilences and ſickneſſes, and in former ages ſent down to viſit the earth another ſpirit, to whom they give the name of Guyiaguai. He was no ſooner come, than he began to ſow the land with pitahayas, the moſt common fruit in California; and likewiſe made the creeks along the coaſt of the gulf, till he came to a vaſt ſtone in a very ſpacious creek near Loretto, called by the Spaniards Puerto Eſcondido, where he reſided for ſome time. Here the other inferior ſpirits, his attendants, uſed to bring him pitahayas to eat, and fiſh which they caught in the creek. Guyiaguai's occupation was to make veſtments for his prieſts, who, in their language are called dicuinochos, of the hides which were offered to him. After ſome time Guyiaguai continued his viſitation, ſowing pitahayas, and making creeks along all the coaſt of the Loretto nation; and, as a memorial, left a painted table, which the dicuinochos or prieſts make uſe of at their entertainments. They add, that the ſun, moon, and the morning and evening ſtars were men and women; that every night they fell into the weſtern ſea, whence they are under a neceſſity of ſwimming out by the way of the eaſt: that the other ſtars were lights made in heaven by that viſiting ſpirit and his attendants; and that though they became quenched by the ſea water, he went toward the eaſt to light them again. It would be very tedious to enter into a further detail of the many abſurdities of the ſame kind, which were impoſed on this unhappy people by their ſtupid or deſigning prieſts.

The nation of the Cochimies is not only the moſt numerous and extended, but they have likewiſe the beſt genius, and leſs extravagant opinions, and brutality in their cuſtoms; their behaviour is remarkably courteous, and they never break their word. "They believe, ſays a miſſionary, that there is in heaven a lord, whoſe name in their language ſignifies he who lives; that without a mother he had a ſon, to whom they give two names: one of which imports perfection or end of clay; the other ſignifies the ſwift. Beſides him they ſay there is another, whoſe name is, he who makes lords; though they give the name of lord to all the three;

yet when aſked how many lords there are, they anſwer one, who made the heaven, the earth, the animals, the trees and fruits, alſo man and woman. They likewiſe have ſome notion of devils, ſaying that the great lord, called he who lives, created certain beings who are not ſeen, who revolted againſt him, and are enemies both of him and mankind: to theſe they give the name of lyars, enſnarers, or ſeducers. They add that when men die, theſe deceivers come and bury them, that they may not ſee the lord who lives." Theſe and ſome others of the ſame kind were the tenets of the Cochimies; which I could wiſh to relate at length, being confident that the converted Indians had no deſign of impoſing on the miſſionaries in telling them that before their converſion they held opinions in ſome reſpects the ſame with thoſe I have juſt related. I could likewiſe wiſh that I was able to write them in the very words of their languages, with their true and accurate ſignification, as from thence we might judge whether it is not reaſonable to conclude, that ſome ſtorm or other accident carried to the coaſts of California, ſome Europeans or inhabitants of the Philippines, of whom no memory now exiſts among the Indians; and theſe finding themſelves among barbarians, endeavoured to inſtill into them the myſteries of the chriſtian religion; and that thoſe inſtructions, in proceſs of time, became more and more disfigured, till the arrival of the miſſionaries. It is now above two centuries ſince the coaſt of California has been viſited by Europeans; the inhabitants of Mexico from the weſtern coaſt of New Spain, have frequented the gulf of California to fiſh for pearls; and others have arrived at the weſtern coaſt by the way of the South ſea. And therefore among a variety of accidents, either as puniſhment, or from miſfortune, one or more may have been obliged to remain among the Indians. It is known that ſome ſhips have left Mulattoes and Meſtizos at Cape San Lucas. Father Juan de Torquemada tells us, that the Californians ſhewed no manner of ſurpriſe at the ſight of negroes, there being ſome of that caſt among them, the race of thoſe who had been left by a ſhip from the Philippine iſlands. The ſame author mentions the adventure of the pilot Morera, who, being left on ſhore near Cape Mendozino, by the famous navigator ſir Francis Drake, after ſome years, fortunately arrived at the mine-garriſon of Sombrerete; the like accounts are to be met with in ancient narratives: and ſo lately as the year 1741, the Ruſſians were obliged to leave on the ſame coaſt of America, and at a higher latitude, part of a ſhip's company who had ſailed on a diſcovery [*]: all which gives room to believe, that ſome Europeans, under a ſimilar diſaſter, had not the ſame good fortune to arrive at a country peopled with Europeans, after wandering over vaſt tracts inhabited by barbarians: but on the contrary, were obliged to paſs the remainder of their days among them. And what regard and authority would not an European of any tolerable capacity, acquire among ſuch a ſtupid race. But till we can produce facts ſufficient to clear up theſe points, we ſhall paſs to other particulars leſs ſubject to doubts and uncertainties.

Their edues or prieſts were what might be expected from this ſhadow or imitation of religion. Theſe edues were called by the name of their two ſects, Tuparan and Niparaya: thoſe of Loretto called them Dicuinochos, and the Cochimies Vamas or Guaſmas. In the narratives they are frequently called Hechiceros or ſorcerers; and in conformity to them, we ſhall alſo make uſe of the ſame name. But it is not therefore to be thought that theſe poor creatures had any commerce, or entered into a compact with apoſtate ſpirits, or that they received any inſtructions from them, as they audaciouſly declared, and were too readily believed, not only by Indians, but likewiſe by ſome Europeans. It is known that the ſame extravagant credulity obtained here, which not long ſince deluged the old world, with regard to the ancient pagan oracles. But the moſt ſagacious miſſionaries, after plain and convincing proofs, affirmed them to be arrant impoſtors and cheats, pretending to hold intelligence with thoſe ſpirits, the exiſtence of which as we have obſerved, was believed by the Californians. This ſuppoſitious commerce with ſpirits, or even with the devil himſelf, procured them great authority among that ſimple people; and this reverence they ſtrengthened by certain ceremonies and geſtures; and the introduction of many myſtical rites. The whole intention of their deceits was intereſt, the people imagining that ſucceſs was to be acquired, and calamities prevented by bringing them the beſt of the fruits they gathered, and of what they catched in fiſhing or hunting. This was a principle carefully inculcated into them, the Hechiceros ſometimes thundering out threatenings of ſickneſs, diſaſter, and failure of harveſts: at other times perſuading them to give liberally, by feeding them with magnificent hopes of affluence and the moſt deſirable enjoyments. For they affirmed that they were poſſeſſed of knowledge and power ſufficient to accompliſh all this, by means of their friendſhip and intercourſe with the inviſible ſpirits. What alſo ſtrengthened this authority was their being the only phyſicians from whom they could hope to be relieved in their pains and diſtempers: and whatever was the medicine, it was always adminiſtered with great oſtentation and ſolemnity. One was very remarkable, and the good effect it ſometimes produced, heightened the reputation of the phyſician. They applied to the ſuffering part of the patient's body the chacuaco, or a tube formed out of a very hard black ſtone, and through this they ſometimes ſucked, and other times blew, but both as hard as they were able, ſuppoſing that thus the diſeaſe was either exhaled or diſperſed. Sometimes the tube was filled with cimarron or wild tobacco lighted, and here they either ſucked in, or blew down the ſmoke, according to the phyſician's direction: and this powerful cauſtick ſometimes, without any other remedy, has been known entirely to remove the diſorder. In the other tranſactions of life, the Hechiceros practiſed variety of deceits, and pretended to an unlimited power: and it was no difficult taſk to gain an abſolute aſcendant over theſe poor people, whoſe ſtupidity and ignorance opened ſo wide a door to their inſeparable companions timidity and ſuperſtition.

---

[*] See Part. iv. append. 7 of this work.

The Indians of the nation of Loretto had ſchools, whereby theſe profeſſors inſtructed their youths in the above opinions, and ſome other needleſs puerilities: but recommended to them as truths of great importance. In order to this, their pupils attended them to caves or ſolitary places, at a diſtance from the woods: and there they taught them to form certain figures on tablets, and when perfect in theſe, they were taught others as children in our ſchools are taught to write. This remained a ſecret for ſome years, till the reverend father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, obſerved that when the time of gathering the pitahayas arrived, all the boys about the garriſon of Loretto ſuddenly diſappeared, and from one of theſe he drew the ſecret; but not without many artifices: for notwithſtanding the ſtupidity in which they are brought up, they can on occaſion diſſemble and be reſerved: for ſilence is one of their profeſſions.

But the authority of the Californian prieſts on no occaſion appears with ſuch ſplendour as on the publick feaſts, celebrated by a whole nation, or a ſingle rancheria, or family. There are no ſacrifices, nor any other ceremony which has the leaſt appearance of worſhip, either of the Divinity, or thoſe ſpirits they have ſome confuſed idea of; but the whole conſiſts in eating, drinking, dancing, talking, and laughing. However the preſence of the prieſts makes them conſidered as religious ſolemnities: for they indeed act the chief part, and dreſs themſelves in their habits of ceremony, which are only uſed on extraordinary occaſions. This conſiſts of a large cloak covering them from their head to their feet, and entirely compoſed of human hair. Their head is adorned with a very high plumage made of the feathers of hawks, and in their hands they hold a monſtrous fan formed out of the larger feathers. The ſouthern Edues, when they cannot procure feathers, adorn, or indeed rather disfigure, the head with the tails of deers, and the Cochimes add two ſtrings of the hoofs of the ſame beaſt; one as a chain round the neck, and the other as a girdle. The ridiculouſneſs of the garb is ſtill heightened by daubing their bodies over with red, black, and different colours; ſo that the reader's own fancy will eaſily repreſent what figures they muſt make. Theſe open the entertainment with ſucking the chacuaco, till they are become frantick and almoſt drunk with the ſmoke. Thus intoxicated, they begin the oration on their tenets, which is delivered with wild geſtures and frightful vociferations. They pretend themſelves to be inſpired by thoſe ſpirits which the nation acknowledges, and in their name denounce to them whatever their frenzy or intereſt ſuggeſts. To give the greater weight to their embaſſy, they ſometimes pretended that they were the very ſpirits in which they believed: at others that they had been in heaven and converſed with the deities: and to prove it produced the fleſh of a deer, or a piece of ſkin and an herb, with which they ſaid it was in their power to kill whom they pleaſed. But their moſt uſual device was to hold up in their hands ſome little tablets of wood made with great labour, for want of iron tools of meſquite, or another hard wood called Una de Gato, on which were painted ſome groteſque figures, affirmed to be the true copy of the table, which the viſiting ſpirit left with them at his departure to heaven: and theſe figures were the ſame which the Loretto profeſſors taught the boys at their private academy. Whilſt theſe frantick preachers were haranguing, the others were feaſting and dancing, and being inflamed by gluttony, intemperance, and dancing, the whole concluded in the moſt abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiſcriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of ſhame, reaſon, and modeſty.

Though theſe feaſts were often without any neceſſary motive; yet thoſe made at the gathering of the pitahayas, for a victory, for the diſtribution of the captures of fiſh, and the deer ſkins, greatly ſurpaſſed the others in ſolemnity: but that on boring the ears and noſtrils of the children exceeded all. To theſe all the women and men reſorted: the ornament of wearing pearls from their noſtrils to their ears being common to both ſexes. The ſhrieks of the children on theſe occaſions, incited the fathers to greater and louder ſhouts, in order to ſuppreſs any ſympathy with the cries and tears of their children. At theſe feaſts, the prieſts or impoſtors, did not omit exerciſing that authority which they owe to the fear of the people, celebrating, according to their private paſſions, ſome as brave and generous; upbraiding others as cowards, factious, and wicked, and even enjoin them certain penances: the moſt cuſtomary of which was faſting or abſtinence; laying their commands on them to forbear for a certain time to taſte of this or that fruit, fiſh, or beaſt. Sometimes a whole rancheria came under the ſentence, when they were either to faſt alternately, or every one was enjoined to abſtain from ſome particular thing: ſo that the faſt might be general. This was not the only method of chaſtiſing them; they alſo ordered them to clear ways along the higheſt mountains, for the more eaſy deſcent of the viſiting ſpirit when it came to ſee them. And at certain diſtances to lay a heap of ſtones where it might ſtop and reſt itſelf. But what cannot be read without horror, is, that theſe inhuman impoſtors ſometimes even ordered them to throw themſelves down from a precipice: and though they muſt neceſſarily be daſhed to pieces, ſuch was the blindneſs and dread of theſe poor creatures, that it was very ſeldom their orders failed of being executed, either willingly or by force. Beſides this the hechiceros raiſed contributions on all, by means of two tributes: and theſe were paid with a punctual willingneſs. The firſt was the beſt of their fruits and captures at hunting and fiſhing; the ſecond, the tribute of hair, of which were made the cloaks of ceremony uſed only at their ſolemnities; and which with their other ornaments were committed to the care of a particular perſon, who was to keep them in a remote and private place. This tribute the children paid in return for their inſtruction, and the adult, who had been ſick, if they recovered, in gratitude for their cure; and if not, for their care after death: for the Californians are not forſaken by their prieſts; on the contrary, they redouble their cares, and extend them to the whole rancheria; but when the diſtemper arrives at ſuch a height, that herbs, juices, the chicuaco, and ſimarion or tobacco, avail nothing, they aſſemble all the patient's relations, that he might die with the greater uneaſineſs. In the firſt place, if the patient have a daughter or ſiſter, they cut off the little finger of her right hand, pretending thereby that the blood either ſaved the patient, or at leaſt removed from the family all ſorrow for his death; but was in reality an additional cauſe of pain and grief: then followed the viſits from the whole rancheria, who, after talking to him, and being acquainted with his deſperate condition, ſet up a confuſed howling; ſometimes covering their face with their hands and their hair, and repeating this ceremony from time to time divided into ſeparate companies; and all in the preſence of the dying perſon. The women increaſed the horror of theſe howlings with paſſionate cries and exclamations, ſetting forth the merits of the patient, in order to move the greater compaſſion. The howling being over, the patient requeſts the company to ſuck and blow him in the ſame manner as the phyſicians had done: and this laſt friendly office is performed by every one; ſucking and blowing firſt the part affected, and afterwards all the other organs of the ſenſes with the utmoſt force they are capable of; as this and the force of the cries indicates their degree of affection for the deceaſed. In the mean time, the doctors thruſt their hands into the patient's mouth, pretending to pluck death forcibly out of his body. The women ſtill continuing their outcries, give the patient many ſevere ſtrokes, in order to awake him, till betwixt one uneaſineſs and another they deprive him of life: and as ſoon as he is found ſenſeleſs, they immediately proceed to bury or burn him, making no difference, but chuſing the moſt convenient. The funerals are immediately performed without any preparations, amidſt a continuance of the ſame howlings, and without any ſingularity, only burying or burning with the patient all his utenſils. So little did they enquire into the reality of his death, previouſly to the burning or interment, that one day father Salva-Tierra, being near San Juan de Londo, and hearing the lamentations and ſeeing the fire, haſtened to the ſpot, where he found them juſt going to burn a man, who by his motions he could perceive to have ſtill ſome remains of life. He ſnatched him from the fire, and in time recovered him, reproving their inconſiderateneſs and barbarity.

Thus have I given a brief detail of the religion of the ancient Californians. In the iſlands formed by the channel of Santa Barbara, along the weſtern coaſt, which was diſcovered by general Viſcaino; and in others at a ſmall diſtance from theſe, viſited in 1733, by father Taraval, who called them de los Dolores, there is ſome difference in religious affairs, which I ſhall relate in the very words of the author. Father Torquemada, ſpeaking of the iſland of San Catherine, ſays, "In this iſland are ſeveral rancherias or communities, and in them a temple with a large level court, where they perform their ſacrifices; and in one, the place of the altar, was a large circular ſpace, with an incloſure of feathers of ſeveral birds of different colours, which I underſtood were thoſe of the birds they ſacrificed in great numbers: and within the circle was an image, ſtrangely bedaubed with a variety of colours, repreſenting ſome devil, according to the manner of the Indians of New Spain, holding in its hand a figure of the ſun and moon. It happened that when the ſoldiers came to ſee this temple, they found within the ſaid circle two crows, conſiderably bigger than ordinary; and at the approach of the Spaniards they flew away, but alighted among the rocks in the neighbourhood: and the ſoldiers ſeeing them of ſuch an uncommon largeneſs, fired their pieces and killed them. At this, an Indian who had attended the Spaniards as a guide, fell into a perfect agony; I was informed that they believed the devil ſpoke to them in theſe crows, and thence beheld them with great veneration. Some time after, one of the religious going that way, ſaw ſome Indian women waſhing fiſh along the ſhore, in order to dreſs them for their families; but ſome crows came up to them, and with their beek took the fiſh from their hands, whilſt they obſerved a profound ſilence, not daring ſo much as to look at them, much leſs frighten them away. Nothing therefore could appear more horrible to the Californians, than that the Spaniards ſhould ſhoot at theſe reſpectable birds." Father Taraval, in the manuſcript account of his voyage and diſcoveries in the year 1732, ſays of the iſland de la Trinidad, "That the governor was likewiſe its prieſt, i. e. ſorcerer or hechicero, though he had others ſubordinate to him: ſo that every community had its civil and ſpiritual officer. On their heads they wore ſuch a groteſque variety of things, as at once moved pity and laughter. His decalogue was as follows, 'That they ſhould not eat of their firſt hunting or fiſhing, under pain of being diſqualified from hunting or fiſhing hereafter. 2d, That they ſhould not eat of ſome certain fiſh. 3d, That they ſhould forbear eating ſome particular parts of the game, and theſe were the beſt and fatteſt, ſaying, that this fat was that of dead old men; and that by eating it old age would immediately come upon them. Thus the beſt pieces fell to the ſhare of the old hechiceros, alledging, that as they were already advanced in years, they had nothing to fear on this head. 4. That they ſhould not gather certain fruits, nor take ſome ſpecies of fiſh (and both of theſe were the beſt) as they would do them a great deal of hurt; but that nothing injured old people. 5. That if they caught any ſtag or fiſh of an extraordinary ſize, not to offer to eat it, as belonging to the hechiceros. 6. That they ſhould not look at the ſeven ſtars, as they would thereby draw on themſelves many misfortunes and calamities. 7. That they ſhould not look towards the iſlands of the north; for that whoever ſtood and looked at them, would fall ſick and die without remedy. 8. That they ſhould be mindful of their anceſtors, and make feaſts in commemoration of them. 9. That in very hot weather, all ſhould come out and pay their ſalutations to the ſun, who would not then moleſt them in their huntings and fiſhings; but on the contrary render every undertaking proſperous. 10. That they ſhould believe in their hechiceros: but this was too difficult a taſk; for no ſooner were they returned to the miſſion, than they began to laugh at ſuch abſurdities.' His articles of belief were of a piece with his precepts. The principal deity was the demon, in honour of whom ſome feſtivals were celebrated. The chief reaſon brought for theſe entertainments to his honour was, becauſe the ſorcerers told them, that it was the demon who had given them, and would continue to give them children. Theſe feaſts were in a manner required by their deity. Others they made in honour of their anceſtors, on whom they conferred the ſame name as on the demons. The form of his apotheoſis or canonization, was as follows: the hero of the ſolemnity was repreſented by the branches of ſeveral trees, placed on an eminence; after which they danced before this image, and then imagined him completely canonized.

Their pontificalia uſed on theſe occaſions, were firſt a wig as long as a canon's cope, made of the votive hair of ſick perſons. Round their neck they wore a ſtring of deers feet, and another as a girdle round their waiſte. In their hands they held a large fan compoſed of a great variety of feathers, and a tube made of a very hard ſtone, for ſucking the patients in the manner formerly deſcribed. All the particulars, except the hairs and the tube, are entirely different from thoſe rites of the Californians; which I have on that account mentioned, omitting other things which obtain among both."

Though the iſlands and tracts to which theſe accounts relate, have little correſpondence and intercourſe, yet they are within ſight of one another. In ſuch a vicinity, it is ſurpriſing there ſhould be ſo remarkable a difference in ſo eſſential a point as religion. But ſo I find it in the narrative, which however I do not pretend to impoſe upon the reader as an inconteſtible authority.

A
NATURAL and CIVIL
HISTORY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

◆ ◆ ◆

PART II.

Account of CALIFORNIA till the firſt arrival of the Jeſuits.

SECT. I.

The firſt accounts of the Pacifick or South-ſea.

IT is ſurpriſing that during the courſe of ſo many ages, the globe which we inhabit ſhould be ſo imperfectly known: and that ſome of the human ſpecies ſhould have known nothing of others inhabiting the ſame. The 15th century is juſtly diſtinguiſhed in Europe, for the firſt revival of arts and ſciences: and among the conſequences of that revival, it has the honour of reckoning the diſcovery of countries, the great extent of which entitled it to be called the new world. Spain being now freed from the dominion of the Moors, and the whole country united in two kingdoms; thoſe of Caſtile and Portugal, not only employed its victorious arms in Europe and Africa, but likewiſe ſent its fleets on the ocean, which had been till then ſo much dreaded. The Eaſt Indies, whoſe riches had filled Europe with their fame, from the moſt remote antiquity, in that century acquired additional reputation from the rich commerce of its products and manufactures, carried on from the Levant by the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Florentines. The ancient geographers alſo, eſpecially the Greeks, which now began to be read, together with the accounts of Marco Paulo, a Venetian and other travellers; and likewiſe the relations of ſome natives of thoſe countries who came into Europe, and whoſe diſcretion and probity left no room to queſtion their veracity, added an additional glory to that country. But though more ſolid proofs of the riches of India, together with its ſpices and other goods were brought into Europe, not only the conqueſt, but even an immediate commerce was impracticable to the Europeans, who, knowing of no way thither by ſea, were under a neceſſity of carrying on the traffick for eaſtern goods with the Mahometans, as being maſters of all the interjacent countries. The Portugueſe, who with inconceivable boldneſs and perſeverance had diſcovered and ſurveyed the weſtern coaſt of Africa, as far as Guinea, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, did not doubt but they ſhould at laſt find a ſecure paſſage through the ocean to India. In confidence of this, in the year 1487, they ſent ſeveral perſons by land to acquaint themſelves with the eaſtern countries; and eſpecially thoſe of Preſter-John, a prince reputed to be very powerful and a chriſtian. They likewiſe ſolicited the pope for a perpetual grant of all the land which ſhould be diſcovered in the ocean from Cape Boxador to India incluſively.

Whilſt the Portugueſe were employed in ſeeking an eaſtern paſſage to India, the kings of Caſtile who had made themſelves maſters of ſeveral iſlands in the ocean, and proſecuted their claims to the conqueſt of Guinea, ſent Chriſtopher Columbus, on the diſcovery of new countries to the weſtward, he having propoſed to find a new and ſhorter way to India and the Spice iſlands. In effect, this wonderful man, either from the reading ancient authors, or the papers of a certain pilot, either knew, or formed a conjecture that there were ſome countries or iſlands to the weſt of the Canaries or Azores; yet he little thought that India was at ſo great a diſtance from the extreme coaſts of Africa and Spain. On the contrary, from the authority of ancient geographers

graphers and philoſophers, he concluded that the terraqueous globe was much leſs than in reality it is; that the paſſage from Spain to India, was not long in itſelf; and that by this way, he ſhould much ſooner reach Cathay, and the iſland of Cipango, of which Marco Paulo, the Venetian, gives ſuch an alluring deſcription. Accordingly he made the offer to the kings of Portugal and England, but was diſappointed at both courts: this and the maps of Paulo Phyſico, the Florentine, to whom he communicated his thoughts, who confirmed him in his plan, may be ſeen in the hiſtory of this great man, written by his ſon Fernando Columbus, the worthy hiſtorian of ſuch a father. Afterwards in the year 1492, Columbus ſailed a new courſe, and after diſcovering the iſlands of Lucaya, Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and others, he returned to Spain, and with unparalleled glory entered Liſbon on the 4th of March 1493, Don Juan III. king of Portugal, as became a prince of his religion and generoſity; not only rejected with indignation the propoſal of ſome great men among the Portugueſe, to put this illuſtrious navigator to death, but conferred great honours on him. However on a ſuppoſition that the iſlands diſcovered lay within the dominion granted him by the pope, he tranſmitted a ſpirited complaint to the king of Caſtile, and ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and ſent to thoſe parts. The king of Caſtile found means to ſuſpend this reſolution; and in the mean time, the incomparable queen Iſabella, procured a brief from pope Alexander VI. granting to her kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon, any diſcoveries made by her ſubjects: and it was the ſame pope, who, to avoid injuring the Portugueſe, made the famous diviſion of the world between theſe two kingdoms, by a line of demarcation drawn north and ſouth 100 leagues weſt of Cape de Verd, and the Azores. This expedient not ſatisfying the king of Portugal, their catholick majeſties, with the conſent of the pope, by a treaty made at Tordeſillas in 1494, removed the line of demarcation 270 leagues farther weſt of the ſaid Cape and iſlands.

On the concluſion of this treaty, admiral Columbus, and other Spaniards proſecuted their diſcoveries, the extent and richneſs of which, only ſerved to inflame the thirſt after the treaſures of the Eaſt Indies, of which ſuch magnificent accounts were current all over Europe. What increaſed it even more, was the arrival at Liſbon in the year 1499, of the great Vaſco de Gama, from his ſucceſsful diſcovery of India, being the firſt who ventured to double the Cape of Good Hope; and thus opened the way to the Eaſt Indies. At that time an opinion prevailed in Spain, that there was a ſtreight through which the gulf of Mexico communicated with another vaſt ſea to the ſouthward. Admiral Columbus aſſured their catholick majeſties, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to find it out: and accordingly in the year 1502, he ſailed a fourth time to the weſtward, and diſcovered the coaſts from the iſlands of Los Guanacos, and the gulf of Honduras beyond Porto Bello, without meeting with any ſtreight, as indeed it was impoſſible he ſhould, there being no ſtreight thereabouts, but an iſthmus of land, which has ſince been called the peninſula of Panama. Some ſay that it is to this voyage we owe the firſt accounts of the South ſea, whilſt, according to others, thoſe coaſts had been diſcovered three years before by Vicente Yanez Pinzon, and Juan Diez de Solis. Fernando Columbus, who accompanied his father in this voyage, contradicts that opinion, and adds, that it was not till the year 1508, that Pinzon and Solis coaſted along theſe parts, though they endeavoured to aſſume the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers; and to defraud the admiral of his juſt reputation: and to this end altered the names which he had before given to ſome parts. However this be, it muſt be owned that before this fourth and laſt voyage of Columbus, he had ſome knowledge of the South ſea, as the opinion of the ſtreight he went in queſt of, though founded on a miſtake, ſuppoſes ſuch a ſea. This his ſon does not conceal: and it is not improbable that ſome Spaniards, of whom no memory remains, having before coaſted along the gulf of Mexico, either in queſt of countries or gold, they were informed by the inhabitants of the iſthmus, that on the other ſide not far off was a ſea: and this gave riſe to the ſtory of the ſtreight. However it is certain that theſe confuſed and ambiguous accounts were the firſt we had of the South ſea.

This was not the only courſe attempted at that time to India, by the way of America. So early as the year 1495, ſeveral Spaniards, Engliſh, Danes, and others *, ſteered northward in queſt of ſuch a paſſage. The like attempt was in vain proſecuted during the two following centuries and a half; and in England is now carrying on with greater ardour than ever; though very probably the event will be the ſame. A ſearch after the junction of theſe ſeas, was alſo undertaken in another part, with a perſeverance which at length was crowned with ſucceſs. As Columbus had diſcovered in his third voyage, in the year 1498, the continental coaſt of Paria towards the ſouth, ſeveral

---

* See Mr. Ellis's voyage to Hudſon's bay.

veral Spaniards fitted out ſhips to proſecute theſe diſcoveries: among which, Per Alonſo Ninno, a native of Palos, who, in the year 1599, diſcovered Cumana, and the coaſts as far as Venezuela, and his countryman Vicente Yanez Pinzon, with Arias Pincon his couſin, in the year 1500, came to the mouth of the great river of the Amazons, which is 80 leagues in breadth, and from thence coaſting further along Braſil, and doubling the Cape of San Auguſtine, came into the ſea, which receives the river de la Plata; and gave hopes of finding that way the ſo much deſired paſſage to India.

The king of Portugal, likewiſe with a view of finding a ſhorter paſſage to that country, which afforded ſuch ineſtimable funds for commerce, than that lately diſcovered by the Cape of Good Hope, after having in the ſame year 1500 ſent to the north of America, Gaſpar de Corte Real, who landed on the Tierra de Labrador, and gave his name to ſome iſlands; in the following year 1501, ſent to the ſouthward, America Veſpuſio, a Florentine, who without the leaſt reaſon, has been ſo fortunate as to give name to the fourth part of the world. This navigator, after paſſing the abovementioned cape of St. Auguſtine in Braſil advanced to within 40 degrees of the equinoctial; and thus arrogated to himſelf the firſt diſcovery of that cape and the ſea; though the year before, as we have obſerved the Pincons had reached it, unleſs there be in this caſe the ſame fraud, which Columbus's ſon complains to have been committed in prejudice of his father. Other authors attribute the firſt diſcovery of Braſil to Pedro Alvarez Cabral: but we ſhall detain the reader no longer on this ſubject.

Amidſt ſo many expeditions weſtward, northward, and ſouthward; it was the year 1513 before our parts of the world had any clear and certain accounts of the South ſea. The firſt European diſcoverer of it was Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa, born at Xerez de los Cavaleros, who being employed in the conqueſt of Darien and the gulf of Uraba, and guided by the ſon of the Cacique Panquiaca, paſſed the chain of mountains, from whence, with inexpreſſible pleaſure, he had a ſight of the South ſea; and arriving at the ſhore of the gulf, on Michaelmas-day, he called it by that ſaint's name: he was a man worthy of great encomiums, as the founder of the vaſt diſcoveries in Peru and other places, but who, for his cruelty to the Indians, the God of mercy puniſhed with an unfortunate death. Father Mariana ſays, that Balboa was a native of

Badajoz; but Gomara makes him a gentleman of Xerez de Badajoz, or de los Cavaleros.

About this time, the Portugueſe made a diſcovery of the Molucca iſlands, which lie ſo far eaſtward, that the Spaniards laid claim to them, with all the remaining part of India towards the eaſt, as within the hemiſphere belonging to them, by the demarcation and treaty of Tordecillas. This renewed the ancient quarrels between the two kingdoms, and in the mean time, in the year 1516, Fernando Magellanes, and Ruy Falero, both Portugueſe, waited on the great cardinal Ximenez de Ciſneſes, with a plan for finding a ſouthern paſſage into the South ſea, and through it to the Molucca, and Spice iſlands. After the death of the cardinal, they laid the like propoſal before king Charles, and with five Ships, ſailed from San Lucas in the Year 1519.

Magellanes ſteered towards the ſouth, and having paſſed cape St. Auguſtine, he run down along the coaſt to that famous ſtreight which retains his name, and, after infinite difficulties and hazards, made his way through it into the South ſea; this alſo he happily croſſed, and arrived at the Iſlands de los Ladrones, at preſent called Marianas: from theſe he continued his courſe to thoſe of Luzon, which have ſince received the name of Philippines, where he unfortunately periſhed with ſome of his companions. The others continuing their voyage, came to the Moluccas, and Juan Sebaſtian del Cano, a native of Gueitaria in Guipuſcoa maſter of the ſhip Nictoria, returned in the year 1522, from thence to Spain by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, having in the term of three Years, made the firſt complete voyage round the world; and therefore his ſhip, with much more reaſon than the Argos, ought to be placed among the conſtellations.

Thus had the South ſea been diſcovered near the antarctick Pole, and about the equinoctial, but the diſcovery of it to the north, was ſtill wanting; an enterpriſe reſerved for Hernando Cortes. This hero had ſubdued the empire of Mexco, and made himſelf maſter of the capital, on the 13th of Auguſt, 1521. This was immediately followed by offers of ſubmiſſion, from the king of Mechoacan, whoſe dominions reached to the coaſt of the South ſea. Cortes, as he himſelf ſays, in a letter written the following year to Charles V. having had ſome knowledge of this ſea a little before, perhaps from the time of Motezuma, and his thoughts being continually forming new enterpriſes, with that magnanimity which will always equal him to the Alexanders and Cæſars.

ſars. He ſent Spaniards ſeveral ways to take a ſurvey of the coaſts; and among the momentous cares which employed his mind, he gave orders for building two Caravelas *. So ſanguine were his hopes, that he expreſſes them in the following manner to the emperor: "The accompliſhment of this your majeſty may conclude, will be of the greateſt reputation and ſervice, of any thing ſince the diſcovery of the Indies."

In the mean time, a new, though long and difficult paſſage to the Moluccas, being now diſcovered in Spain, by the arrival of the ſhip Victory, and a ſurvey having been taken of theſe, and the ſituation of the world better determined, the diſputes betwixt the kings concerning the right to that part of the Eaſt-Indies, became more inflamed. In the year 1523, Charles V. ordered ſeveral officers to go in ſearch of a ſuppoſed ſtreight, in the iſthmus of Panama. Accordingly, Franciſco Hernandez and Gil Gonzales Davila, looked for it from that part all along the coaſt of the South ſea. The ſame year the emperor ſent orders to Cortes,

---

* An old faſhioned veſſel formerly much uſed among the Spaniards, very ſharp before, but ill-ſhaped, and the maſts leaning forward. Their ſails are all triangular, that they keep nearer the wind, than other ſails, but are not ſo commodious to hand.

to ſearch for it in both ſeas. At that time this could not be done in the South ſea, but on the ſide of the gulf of Mexico, he ſent Chriſtopher de Olid, who afterwards deſerted with five ſhips and a brigantine, that he ſhould go with the celebrated Hebueras; and his couſin Diego Hortado had three ſhips given him, that together with Olid, he might take a careful ſurvey of the whole coaſt, from Yucaton to Darien. In the year 1524, a congreſs was held at Badajoz, conſiſting of miniſters of ſtate, civilians, coſmographers, and pilots from Spain and Portugal, relating to the pretenſions of both crowns to the Moluccas. After two months debating, the Spaniſh judges gave ſentence in favour of their crown, which was proteſted againſt by the Portugueſe; thus the congreſs broke up, after ſerving only to widen the breach: And the two kings quarrelled about what was in a few years to be, as at preſent it is, the recompence of the diligence of other nations, and even of their own revolted ſubjects. But not long after, they came to an agreement, the emperor yielding to the king of Portugal his right to the Moluccas, in conſideration of thirty-five thouſand ducats, Though this accommodation was ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt, by Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, a famous ſcholar of Burgos, who acted a capital part in the conferences at Badajoz,

joz, and who was univerſally reſpected for his birth, learning, wiſdom, and morals.

The emperor, however, in the ſame year 1524, and not in 1525 as Gomara ſays, ſent Eſtevan Gomez from Corunna to diſcover a paſſage to the Moluccas, by the north part of America. This he found impracticable, but he brought home with him ſome Indians, and according to Oviedo, who was then living in Toledo, he arrived in that city in 1525. The emperor farther ordered a houſe to be erected at Corunna, for the trade to the Spice iſlands; and at the ſame port was fitted out a fleet of ſeven ſhips, the command of which was given to Don Frey Gari-Joffre de Loayſa, a commander of the order of St. John, born at Ciudad Real. With theſe he put to ſea in September 1525, in queſt of the ſtreight of Magellan, in order to paſs thro' it to the Moluccas. The commander ſafely reached the South ſea, but there he died, and afterwards his ſquadron was diſabled from purſuing the enterpriſe. In the following year 1526, Charles V. ſent Sebaſtian Cabot with four carvels, to go the ſame courſe to the Moluccas. The end of this expedition was to draw the trade of the ſpice iſlands, to Panama or Nicaragua: but he went no further than the Rio de la Plata, and returned with as little advantage as reputation.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Firſt diſcovery of CALIFORNIA, and voyages thither, in the time of Hernan Cortes.

We have already taken notice, that in the year 1522, immediately after the conqueſt of Mexico, Cortes acquainted Charles V. that having in three different parts diſcovered the South ſea, he had given orders for building two carvels and two brigantines. To this end he ſent to Zacatula forty Spaniards, carpenters, ſawyers, blackſmiths, and ſeamen, and with them, in a paſſage of above two hundred leagues acroſs New Spain, he cauſed to be carried from Vera Cruz, iron, anchors, ſails, cables, rigging, pitch, tallow, oakum, bitumen, and other naval ſtores, purchaſed there. After all was ſafely arrived at Zacatula, the magazine took fire, ſo that nothing was left except the anchors and nails. Yet this did not diſcourage the firmneſs of Cortes. He immediately gave orders for purchaſing and diſpatching the neceſſary materials, as he himſelf writes to the emperor, excuſing the ſlowneſs with which the building of the ſhips went on, though the whole was at his expence, he had to encounter in Spain, in order to acquire artillery and other ſtores, the inflexible oppoſition of the archbiſhop of Burgos, preſident of the Indies, and other men of power, of which however he complains. The great hopes he conceived of theſe ſhips, and the various ſchemes of a man, whoſe mind otherwiſe muſt have been ſufficiently embarraſſed with the new conqueſt of ſuch vaſt dominions, cannot be better diſplayed than by himſelf, who in a letter to the emperor from Temixtitan or Mexico, the 15th of October 1524, writes thus: "I place a value on theſe ſhips beyond all expreſſion, being certain, that with them if it pleaſe God, I ſhall be the inſtrument of your Imperial majeſty's being in theſe parts, ſovereign of more kingdoms and dominions, than have been hitherto known in our nation. May he pleaſe to proſper it in his good pleaſure, that your Imperial majeſty may obtain ſuch an unparalleled advantage: for I believe that when I have performed this, your highneſs may be monarch of the whole world, whenever you pleaſe." In another clauſe of the ſame letter, he ſays, "In the former clauſes, moſt potent lord, I have ſpecified to your excellency the parts whither I have ſent people both by land and ſea: with which, under the divine favour, I believe your majeſty will be greatly pleaſed. And as it is my continual care and employment, to project every poſſible way of manifeſting and putting in execution my zeal for the ſervice of your royal majeſty; ſeeing nothing further is remaining, but the knowledge of the coaſt yet undiſcovered, between the river Panaco and Florida, ſurveyed by captain Juan Ponce de Leon; and from thence to the northern coaſt of the ſaid country of Florida, as far as the Bacallaos: it being certain that on that coaſt is a ſtreight running into the South ſea: and if it be found according to a true draught which I have of that part of the ſea, near the Archipelago, which, by your highneſs's orders, Magellanes diſcovered; I am of opinion it will iſſue very near it. And if it pleaſe our Lord, that the ſaid ſtreight joins there, the voyage to the Spice iſlands will be ſo convenient for theſe your majeſty's dominions, that it will be two thirds ſhorter than the preſent courſe; and without any hazard to the ſhips in going or coming, for the voyage will be entirely among the ſtates and countries belonging to your majeſty, that on any neceſſity, they may ſafely put in where moſt convenient, as in a country belonging to your majeſty, whoſe flag they carry. Such are my thoughts of the great ſervice which will reſult to your majeſty from this; though I have been at immenſe expences, and contracted vaſt debts for the ſervice both by ſea and land; for the horſes and artillery which I have in this city, and ſend to all parts, beſides daily incidental charges brought in to me; for every thing has been, and is done at my expence. And what increaſes the burden is, that all neceſſaries, eſpecially naval and military, bear here ſuch an exceſſive price, that rich as the country is, the revenue I can draw from it, will not ſuffice for defraying the vaſt expences which I am at. However, from the proſpect of the advantages ſhewn in this clauſe, I poſtpone to them any ſtreights I may be reduced to: and notwithſtanding I proteſt to your majeſty that I raiſe money for it by way of loan, yet have I determined to ſend three carvels and two brigantines for this end; though I reckon it will coſt me above ten thouſand golden crowns: and by this ſervice, I ſhall crown the other ſervices I have performed: for I look upon it as the greateſt ſervice, if the ſtreight I mention be found: and even though it ſhould not be found, there muſt of neceſſity be diſcovered very large and rich countries, to the infinite benefit of your Imperial majeſty, and the augmentation of the kingdoms and dominions of your royal crown: and the advantage of this will be the greater, ſuppoſing the ſaid ſtreight be not found, that your highneſs will be informed that there is no ſuch thing; and meaſures may be taken by which your Imperial majeſty may reap advantage from the Spice countries and all others near them. And I myſelf offer to your highneſs, if you will be pleaſed to put the affair into my hands, in the want of ſuch a ſtreight, I will point out a way by which your majeſty will reap great advantage. God grant that the ſquadron may compaſs the end for which it is deſigned, namely, to diſcover the ſtreight, which I am fully perſuaded they will do. Becauſe in the royal concerns of your majeſty, nothing can be concealed; and no diligence, or neceſſaries ſhall be wanting in me to effect it.

"Thus I think of ſending the ſhips which I have cauſed to be built, into the South ſea, that, God willing, they may by the end of July 1524, ſail downwards along the ſame coaſt, in queſt of the ſaid ſtreight. For if there be any ſuch thing, it muſt appear either to thoſe in the South ſea, or the others in the North; as thoſe on the South are to keep the coaſt in ſight, till they find the ſaid ſtreight, or that the land joins with that which was diſcovered by Magellane: and the other on the North, as I have ſaid, till they find the land joins with the Bacallaos. Thus, on one ſide or other, this important queſtion muſt be ſolved. I hereby inform your majeſty, that by the intelligence I have received of the countries, on the upper coaſt of the South ſea, the ſending of theſe ſhips along it, will be attended with great advantage to me, and no leſs to your majeſty. But acquainted as I am with your majeſty's deſire of knowing this ſtreight, and likewiſe of the great ſervice the diſcovery of it would be to your royal crown, I have laid aſide all other profits and advantages, of which I have the moſt certain knowledge, in order to follow entirely this courſe. The Lord direct it according to his good pleaſure; and may your majeſty obtain your deſire; and likewiſe mine of ſerving you."

So far Hernan Cortes; and I would beg leave to aſk how the greateſt monarch could think otherwiſe, in a matter of the higheſt concern to his glory, treaſury, and nation? The ſame year 1524, Cortes had not only ſent the ſquadron already mentioned, under Chriſtopher de Olid; but likewiſe diſpatched two other veſſels to take a view of the coaſts from Panama to Florida, which are the preſent coaſts of Miſſiſippi or Louiſiana, in order to ſee if he could meet with another ſtreight. Yet is it not known whether in the three following years till 1527, Cortes actually put in execution on the ſide of the South ſea, his intended ſearch for the imaginary ſtreight in the iſthmus. In which falſe belief, he was ſtrengthened in the year 1523, by Pedro de Alvarado, who, in his firſt memorial, laid before Hernan Cortes, and ſigned at Udatan on the 15th of April 1523, has the following words; "They alſo told me that at five days journey beyond a very large city, which is twenty days journey from hence, this land terminates: and this they poſitively declare. If ſo, it is no queſtion with me but this is the ſtreight." And as little certainty is there whether he ſought the other on the north ſide, by the Coſtas de Bacallaos, or thoſe of Newfoundland and Terra del Labrador. Poſſibly he could not accompliſh his deſigns: for it was in thoſe years he made that journey to the Hibueras, ſo famous for its fatigues and hardſhips; and afterwards the diſturbances in Mexico found him ſufficient employment. It is alſo equally uncertain, whether at the time he ſent the Zacatula ſhips along the upper coaſts of the South ſea towards the North. All that Cortes affirms is this, that by the intelligence he had of thoſe countries and coaſts, they would prove very advantageous to him: and in another part of the the ſame letter, he acquaints the emperor with his preparations for the conqueſt of the province of Colina on the South ſea: and that the great men there had given him information of an iſland of Amazons, or women only, abounding in pearls and gold, lying ten days journey from Colina: adding, that ſome of the natives had actually been there, and concluding with an aſſurance that he would make all poſſible enquiry. The iſland of the Amazons was as chimerical as another province on the river of the Amazons, deriving its name from them. The account of the pearls inclines me to think that theſe were the firſt intimations we had of California and its gulf.

However that be, in June 1526, Charles V. wrote to Hernan Cortes from Granada, that he ſhould ſend the ſhips he had at Zacatula in ſearch of the Trinity, one of Magellane's ſhips, and thoſe of the two ſquadrons of Loayſa and Cabot; and to diſcover a paſſage from New Spain to the Moluccas, as he promiſed in his letters. The order came to hand, and the arrival of Hortun de Alango at Cuatlan on the South coaſt, having been ſeparated with his tender from Loayſa's ſquadron, encouraged him to put it in execution. Accordingly he fitted out three ſhips under Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, who ſailed from Civatlan in November 1527. The following year 1528, Cortes came into Spain, but in the mean time, Saavedra's ſquadron was diſperſed and loſt at the Moluccas.

The emperor, who was then in Spain, conferred great honours on Cortes; beſides the title of marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, he nominated him captain general of New Spain, and of the provinces and coaſts of the South ſea: and likewiſe diſcoverer and peopler of that coaſt and the iſland, with a grant of the twelfth part of what he ſhould conquer, for himſelf and his heirs. Theſe titles and privileges were a freſh incitement to Cortes, for farther expeditions into the South ſea. But neither the emperor, nor the empreſs, who was left regent, the emperor being gone into Italy to be crowned, cared to leave things wholly to his pleaſure; ſo that in October 1529, Cortes ſigned an inſtrument which had alſo the ſignature of the empreſs, by which he obliged himſelf to ſend ſhips at his own expence, for the diſcovery of countries and iſlands in that ſea. The following year Cortes returned to New Spain, and partly from his own diſpoſition and the frequent claims of the performance of his promiſe, urged upon him by the new audience of Mexico, probably to remove him from that capital, where the preſence of that illuſtrious perſon gave great umbrage, he firſt ſet on foot the building two ſhips at Acapulco, with which Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a near relation of Cortes, put to ſea from that part in May 1532. This expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former: one of the ſhips company mutined againſt Hurtado, and with great difficulty got back to Zaliſco; but the other in which Hurtado ſailed, was never heard of. Cortes ordered two other ſhips to be built, in a town of his called Jehhuantepec, and to haſten the equipment of them, he went to the port in perſon. The two captains were Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra de Mendoza, a relation of his, and Ortun Ximenes, a Biſcayner, was appointed pilot. They ſet ſail in the year 1534, and the very firſt night they ſeparated without ever meeting again. Grijalva, after ſailing three hundred leagues came to a deſert iſland, which he called Santo Thome, and is believed to lie near the point of California; returning ſome time after to New Spain. Becerra was of a haughty cholerick diſpoſition, which, by the means of the cruelty and ferocity of the pilot, who could not bear it, proved his ruin; for Ximenes, forgetful of his ſubordination, entered into a plot with ſome other malecontents among the ſailors, murdered him whilſt he was ſleeping, and wounded others of his officers. Thus he became maſter of the ſhip: and in order to avoid Cortes's reſentment, he left on the coaſt of Xaliſco, two Franciſcans deſigned as commiſſionaries, and at their entreaties, he ſpared the wounded perſons, and thus continued his voyage in ſearch of new countries and iſlands towards the North. But he could not fly from the hand of omnipotence, for coming to that part which has ſince been called Santa Cruz bay, and ſeems to be part of the inward coaſt of California, he went aſhore, and was there killed by the Indians, together with twenty other Spaniards. On this diſaſter, the ſailors carried back the ſhip to Chametla with an account, that it was a good country well peopled and had many pearl beds along the coaſt. Nunno de Guſman, who was then on the conqueſt of that country, ſeized the ſhip. He had been preſident of the audience of Mexico, and judge of reſidencia *, and a ſworn enemy to Cortes, whoſe reſolution even ſo many and great misfortunes could not ſhake, but was firmly perſuaded that the Moluccas were at no great diſtance from the weſtern coaſt; and that in the intermediate ſpace, he ſhould meet with rich iſlands and countries.

In this opinion, he was likewiſe confirmed by the certain though exaggerated account of the pearls, of which he had heard much talk ſome years before. This and the contract he had entered into with the empreſs, determined him to make one laſt attempt; and not to commit it

---

* Reſidencia is the tryal a governor or magiſtrate undergoes at the expiration of his employment, a judge being appointed to hear every complaint againſt him: all complainants are ſummoned to appear; and he is obliged to ſtay upon the ſpot for ſuch a time to make his defence.

to captains, but to go himſelf in perſon. He gave publick notice of his deſign, and Spaniards flocked from all parts to accompany him. He fitted out the three ſhips which he had launched at Tehuantepec, in a manner ſuitable to an enterpriſe which he was to conduct in perſon. Theſe he ſent away to Chiametla, whilſt himſelf marched for Mexico by land with a good body of ſoldiers, officers, and ſettlers with their families, together with many eccleſiaſticks and religious for the converſion of the natives; which, in all enterpriſes of this nature, ought to be the capital concern. The veſſels arrived at Chiametla, and that of Ortun Ximenes being found along ſhore empty and plundered, was again fitted up. Here Cortes embarked with all who were willing to follow him. The others on ſhore being left under the conduct of Andez de Tapia. He ſteered northward for the gulf, which from that time has been called Mar de Cortes, and is the ſame with that of California. Here they went in queſt of the part where the Indians had killed Ortun Ximenes, and ventured aſhore on the firſt of May 1526. To this place he gave the name of the bay of Santa Cruz: and by ſome it is thought to be the ſame as that now called the bay de la Paz, in the eaſtern coaſt of California; or at leaſt another on the ſame coaſt betwixt cape San Lucas and La Paz, which indeed appears moſt probable. Being landed, he ſent back the ſhips for the remainder of the people, and the ſtores and proviſions provided at Chiametla. But the fleet was ſo diſperſed by ſtorms, that only one reached the place where Cortes remained, and he had few or no ſtores. This brave man now was very much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the country being every where barren. However, in this exigency, his preſence of mind did not forſake him, he immediately put to ſea in this ſhip in ſearch of the others which had been diſperſed. He croſſed the ſea, ſays Gomara, which is like the Adriatick, and ran along the coaſt for the ſpace of fifty leagues through infinite dangers; but at length found his ſhips ſtranded on the coaſt. This put a ſtop to all farther ſearch, and it was not without great labour, difficulty, and danger, that he returned with relief to the bay of Santa Cruz; many had already died of famine, but more by eating to exceſs at his arrival, notwithſtanding his precautions. Cortes, that he might be no longer a ſpectator of ſuch miſeries, went on further diſcoveries, and landed in California, which is a bay.

Theſe and the above cited words of Gomara prove what we have before obſerved, that the bay of Santa Cruz, where Ortun Ximenes was killed, and where Cortes landed, is in that now called the gulf of California, and likewiſe proves that this name was properly that of a bay which Cortes diſcovered on the ſame coaſt, and perhaps that now called de la Paz, and uſed to ſignify the whole peninſula.

In the mean time, a report was ſpread through New Spain, that Cortes was dead; and he being conſidered as the only check upon the Mexican caſiques, they all meditated an inſurrection. The marchioneſs Donna Juanna de Zunniga, daughter to the count de Aginlar, and couſin to the duke de Bejan his ſecond wife, immediately diſpatched a carval to get an account of him, and ſent letters urging him to return. Soon after this, two other veſſels were ſent; one was that of Grijalva, who was returned from his expedition; the other newly built at Tehuantepec, with letters both from herſelf, the audience, and don Antonio Mendoza, the viceroy informing him of the neceſſity of his preſence in New Spain; both with regard to the quiet of the country, and ſending to Francis Pizarro the ſuccours which he ſolicited for Lima, where he was ſurrounded by innumerable troops of Indians. They entreated and even ordered him to return; which Cortes himſelf was not averſe to, being wearied out with fruitleſs efforts both by ſea and land; and now convinced

vinced to his ſorrow, that diſtinguiſhed ſucceſſes by land, are not an infallible aſſurance of the like by ſea. Indeed he rejoiced at this honourable opportunity of abandoning, without any diſcredit, an enterpriſe in which his reputation was at ſtake; and returned to Acapulco in the beginning of the year 1527, leaving the people in the bay of Santa Cruz, under the command of Franciſco de Ulloa, who, ſeeing the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting, much more of making any ſettlement, was not long before he followed his commander back to Acapulco, having either ſecret inſtructions for ſo doing, or acting from his own judgment.

From Acapulco Cortes proceeded to Quahunahuac, ſince corrupted into Quarnavaca to meet his ſpouſe; from thence to Mexico to make his report to the viceroy. He immediately gave orders to ſend the required ſuccours to Pizarro, and diſpatched two ſhips under the command of Hernando Grijalva, from Acapulco to Callos with men, arms, and horſes; beſides ſeveral rich preſents in the marchioneſs's name; all which arrived very ſeaſonably for the conqueror of Peru. The multitude of enterpriſes never could embarraſs Cortes, nor was he diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of the firſt attempts, from the proſecution of thoſe, which, after mature reflection, he concluded to be ſeaſonable and advantageous. In the ſpring of the ſame year, he had again a new expedition on foot, the account of which, as it contains many important articles relative to our deſign, and confirms ſeveral things inſerted here, we ſhall literally copy from Francis Lopez de Gomara.

" In the month of May, of the ſame year 1537, Cortes ſent three other ſhips very well provided, under Franciſco de Ulloa, who was now returned with all the others. His deſtination was to proceed along the coaſt of Culhuacan, which ſtretches to the northward. The names of theſe ſhips were, Sancta Agueda, La Trinidad, and Santo Thomas. They ſailed from Acapulco and touched at Santiago de Buena Eſperanza, for a ſupply of proviſions. From Guayabal they croſſed to California, in queſt of a ſhip, and from thence they proceeded to the Mar de Cortes, by others called Barmejo, and kept along the coaſt for above two hundred leagues, till the end of it, to which they gave the name of Ancon de San Andres, from their arriving there on the anniverſary of that ſaint. Ulloa took poſſeſſion of that country for the king of Caſtile, in the name of Fernando Cortes. Ancon lies nearly in the latitude of 32 degrees: along this coaſt are many volcanos, the mountains are quite bare, and the country extremely poor. They found here ſome traces of ſheep, namely, large, heavy, and very crooked horns. Many whales were alſo ſeen in this ſea. The hooks they uſe for fiſhing, are either of wood, fiſh bones, or the bones of turtles, of which they have great quantities and very large. The men go naked, like the Otomies of New Spain. They wear on their breaſt ſome ſhining ſhells like nakre. Their drinking veſſels are the maws of ſea wolves; though they alſo have them of clay. Proceeding from the Ancon de San Andres along the coaſt, they came to California; doubled the cape, ſtood in betwixt the continent and ſome iſlands, and proceeded till they again reached the Ancon de San Andres. This cape they called El Cabo del Engano, or cape Deceit; and the winds becoming contrary, and proviſions growing ſhort, they returned to New Spain. Thus, after a whole year's abſence, they brought no account of any country worth a ſecond viſit. Fernando Cortes imagined by that coaſt and ſea, to find another New Spain: but he performed no more than what I have mentioned, either by ſea or land, though he himſelf was preſent, and did not ſpare his perſon. He was filled with a conceit, that there were large and very rich iſlands between New Spain and the Spice iſlands. In theſe diſcoveries, according to the account he delivered in, he expended two hundred thouſand ducats;

ſending many more ſhips and men, than what he had at firſt intended; and theſe, as we ſhall hereafter relate, occaſioned his return to Spain. But never man engaged in expences with ſuch chearfulneſs and fortitude, in order to proſecute ſuch uncertain enterpriſes."

SECT. III.

Of the expeditions to CALIFORNIA to the year 1600.

The little advantage reaped by Cortes in ſuch hazardous and expenſive expeditions, ſhould naturally have cooled the ardour for new enterpriſes in the north of America, and in the Pacifick ocean: while, on the contrary, the immenſe riches, which, by the mild and wiſe government of don Antonio de Mendoza, ſeconded by the advice and authority of the marquiſs del Valle, might have ſatiated the deſires of new diſcoveries and acquiſitions, and have limited the attention of the government and private perſons, to the improvement and happineſs of that vaſt country, which Spain was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of. But as man was made in the image of God, and by him alone the heart can be filled, ſo he was never known to be perfectly contented with the poſſeſſion of any temporal good, or willing to abandon all further purſuits.

In the ſame year 1537, came from Mexico to Culiacan, Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Vacà, famous for his ſingular adventures, together with his three companions, Coſtillo, Dorantes, and Eſtevanico, a negro. Of three hundred Spaniards who landed in the year 1527, with Pamfilo de Narvaez, in the country of Florida, with a deſign of making a conqueſt of it, thoſe four only ſurvived; and after wandering ten years with inconceivable hardſhips, among heathenish nations in the inward parts of America, they at length came to the coaſt of Culiacan, but naked and ſo altered, that they perfectly reſembled the natives, till being by their tongue known to be Spaniards, proper care was taken of them, and they were ſent to Mexico. Here every one was aſtoniſhed with the account they gave of their adventures, during ſo long and extraordinary a perambulation; and of the miracles which they ſaid God had been pleaſed by their means, to work on the ſick Indians, even ſo far as to raiſe the dead. They likewiſe affirmed what Alvar Nunnez afterwards wrote in his account to the emperor, viz. that the ſouthern coaſt abounds with pearls and other riches; and that it was the beſt part of the country thereabouts. This Alvar Nunnez

Cabeza de Vaca, was afterwards appointed to conduct the diſcovery of the Rio de la Plata, and the firſt conqueſts of Paraguay. To this teſtimony, which received no little weight from their unparalleled wanderings, and the accounts they gave, was added another of ſtill greater force in the following year 1538. Marcos de Niza, a Franciſcan, and provincial of the new province of Santo Evangelio, being informed that a lay brother of his order had gone from Culiacan above 200 leagues northward, and paſſed through countries very well peopled, where he heard ſurpriſing accounts of other countries beyond them; he was animated with a zeal for preaching the goſpel to theſe people, and determined to viſit them in perſon. This employed him many months; and at his return he reported that he had met with very good countries, where he was informed of ſeven large towns, inhabited by civilized nations: that the ſoil afforded plenty of beaſts, grain, and fruits; and the mountains rich metals and gems: adding that not far diſtant was a remarkably large town called Quivira, with houſes ſeven ſtories high, and celebrated over all thoſe parts for its richneſs.

All Mexico was full of this novelty; nothing elſe was talked of throughout the whole city; where at that time there happened to be a great many perſons juſt arrived from Spain, who readily conceived, that now they ſhould find as rich an empire to conquer, as that which had rendered Cortes ſo famous. The diſcoveries made a little before in New Spain; thoſe then carrying on in Peru; the general opinion of the riches of the Eaſt Indies, which was judged to be at no great diſtance, and theſe depoſitions of the father provincial, and of the companions of Pamfilo de Narvaez, were ſo many additional motives, from which even thoſe who were by no means eaſiy of belief, could not withhold their aſſent. Cortes and the viceroy immediately determined to attempt the conqueſt of this country both by ſea and land: but it was ſoon perceived that their intentions were utterly irreconcilable; each deſigning it for himſelf, independently of the other; the one as viceroy; the other in right of his title of diſcoverer of the South-ſea, and of the compact between him and the empreſs.

The viceroy, though in other things a perſon of exemplary juſtice and magnanimity, was not ſo indifferent in point of honour, that he could calmly behold the carriage of the Spaniards and Indians towards Cortes. The latter, though he lived retired from Mexico, and diſcontented at his diſappointment in obtaining the government which he had ſolicited the emperor for, found means to maintain his intereſt and authority without the leaſt diminution: and ſo artfully did he uſe it, that he gave umbrage to none of the eminent placemen in New Spain; and ſhewed the neceſſity of his preſence, without bringing the leaſt ſuſpicion on his conduct. The viceroy and the audience found, if not a juſt, at leaſt a favourable opportunity of ſhewing him that by the privilege of taking an account of the vaſſals granted him by the emperor, he was then dependent. Another circumſtance was the indemnification which Nuncio de Guzman, who had been formerly preſident, was condemned to make to Cortes, for which ſeveral delays were made, partly out of reſpect to his former office, but more from a declared oppoſition to Cortes, which he alone had the ſpirit publickly to maintain; there had ſome time been no good underſtanding between Cortes and the viceroy; though in the year 1538, they had been reconciled; but now their recent and ill-cemented accommodation was diſſolved. All Cortes's rights were now to be canvaſſed in courts of juſtice; and he ſaw them decided in a manner very different from that in which he had been uſed to decide the fates of kingdoms and empires, and found himſelf more embarraſſed among ſolicitors, counſellors, and attorneys, than among multitudes of enemies in Otumba and Mexico: and now, by a melancholy experience, he was convinced how well grounded his opinions were, when ſome years ſince he adviſed the emperor againſt ſuffering any of the long robe, from coming over to New Spain.

In the mean time the viceroy Mendoza, imagined to have before him a conqueſt in which he might acquire greater reputation and riches, than Cortes had in his: and without thoſe ſad miſtakes, in the cruel treatment of the Indians: ſo that relying too much on Cortes's patience, and his loyalty as a vaſſal, he iſſued orders for two powerful armaments; one by ſea, the other by land, in order to conquer the countries and iſlands northward of Mexico. The command of the fleet was given to captain Franciſco de Alarcon, who was to keep along the coaſt, and in the latitude of fifty two degrees, to join the land forces, according to the information of the religious. The army was headed by the viceroy in perſon, Cortes remaining in Mexico, proteſting in vain againſt the enterpriſe, and complaining that he was injured by it. However the repreſentations of the auditors, and the perplexed ſtate of the government, prevailed on the viceroy to change his mind: and accordingly he conferred the command of the land forces on Franciſco Vaſquez Coronado. This officer marched from Mexico, at the head of one thouſand choſen men; and well provided with every thing neceſſary for a conqueſt and ſettlement: his guides were the Franciſcans; and with theſe he advanced three hundred leagues from Culiacan, by the way of Cinoloa and Valle de Sonora, till after incredible difficulties, he came to the place of his deſtination. They found ſeven towns, compoſing a province or kingdom, called Cibola, in which were only four hundred men: the largeſt, which is however of the viceroy's country, they called Granada, had two hundred houſes of earth and rough wood, but of four or five ſtories, to which they went up wooden ſtairs; and theſe in the night time were taken away. The country made a very poor appearance, at leaſt to theſe, who were prepoſſeſſed with ſuch magnificent ideas of it, though very fit for producing fruits and grains of all kinds. After ſome ſtay, they began to think of Mexico; but that they might not return empty and without making ſome attempt, don Garci Lopez de Cardena, went with his troop of horſe towards the ſea, and general Vaſquez Coronado marched to Tigue, on a river where he got intelligence of Patarrax, king of Axa and Quivira, of which countries they gave ſo pleaſing an account, that a body of Spaniards was ſent thither, being three hundred leagues further along a level country, but thinly peopled. Theſe arrived at Quivira, which, according to their report, lies forty degrees in a country abounding in beaſts and fruits. But its only riches conſiſt in herds of a certain kind of black cattle, which they breed, ſerving them for food, furniture, and cloaths. Though, according to others, Vaſques, from a deſire of returning to Mexico, contrary to many others who were for ſettling there, gave a diſadvantageous account of the country. Gomara adds, that along the coaſt they ſaw ſhips with gold and ſilver gulls at their heads: and concluded that they muſt come from Cataya or China, as by the ſigns they made, they had been 30 days at ſea. At length thinned by ſickneſs, weakened by hunger, and diſcouraged by fatigues without advantage, it was determined to return to Mexico, where, after an abſence of three years, they arrived in March 1542.

Juan de Padilla and another religious, together with a Portugueſe, and ſome Indians of Mechonau remained at Tiguex; the two religious made a ſecond journey to Quivira, where they and ſome of the Indians were killed. But the Portugueſe had the good fortune to eſcape, and, after a long time, made his appearance at Panuco.

Such were the tranſactions of the land forces. In the mean time Franciſco de Alarcon put to ſea in the year 1540, with the ſhips under his command; his orders being to join Vaſquez Coronado, in the latitude of thirty-ſix degrees. He ſteered for California, and being arrived at the place appointed, he long waited to no purpoſe the coming up of the army, which he could not go in queſt of, though he had certain information that they could have joined him in ten days. The term of his inſtructions was already elapſed, ſo that ſetting up ſeveral croſſes and burying at the foot of them, bottles containing letters, in which were writ the day, month, and year of his coming, he returned to New Spain, and found in the harbour a much greater fleet, and the viceroy's major-dome. Thus ended this naval expedition, without any other remarkable circumſtance, than the diſgrace of Franciſco Alarcon, who before had been a favourite of the viceroy's, and his retreat from Mexico to Cortes's territories, where he ſoon after died of grief and chagrin.

The viceroy not only employed his authority and wealth in this attempt, which made a great noiſe till the diſcovery of the miſtake; but by a dextrous ſtroke of policy, he augmented his power and party, and deprived Hernan Cortes of his chief ſupport. At the time the governor and commander in chief in Guatemala, was Pedro de Alvarado, the conqueror and peopler of the fertile province by commiſſion from Cortes, whoſe fortunes he had followed from the beginning. After ſettling every thing in this country in the year 1535, he was ſent to Peru with ſeven ſhips, to aſſiſt Pizarro in the conqueſt of Quito, which in gold and riches was ſaid to exceed Cuſco. He returned from this expedition with large rewards from Pizarro and Almagro, who were better pleaſed with his departure than his aſſiſtance, on account of his overbearing temper. This money, with that which he raiſed in his province, by a cruel oppreſſion of the Indians, put him upon higher thoughts; and as the ſacred ties of gratitude and friendſhip were of little account with him, and conſequently he was not to be reſtrained by the ſenſe of any reſpect to Hernan Cortes as his chief, he formed the deſign of clandeſtinely rivaling him in the diſcoveries of the South ſea. In order to this, he aſked a commiſſion from the emperor, who being every day more ſolicitous about this diſcovery, and not without ſome ſuſpicion of Cortes, whom his competitors accuſed of remiſſneſs in performing the contract, which gave an appearance of guilt to his miſfortunes, eaſily granted it. But with a clauſe in no manner to moleſt the poſſeſſion of the Portuguese.

tugueſe. On receiving this commiſſion, Alvarado prepared an armament in his province, beyond any which had appeared in thoſe ſeas under Cortes. He ordered twelve ſhips, a galley, and ſome ſmaller veſſels to be built; and provided them well with men, horſes, artillery, arms, and proviſions. The expence of fitting out this fleet was ſo large, that beſides the greateſt part of his ſubſtance, and what could be raiſed in his province, he was obliged to apply to ſome of his friends to aſſiſt him with money. His deſign was to ſail to India and the Spice iſlands, making diſcoveries along California and Punta de Vallenas, according to the ſcheme of his former commander. Having taken upon himſelf the ſtile of general of his armada, he brought his ſhips in 1538 to la Purification, where he was to take in water, proviſions, and men. All this was known to the viceroy, who being a declared enemy, concluded that Alvarado would, without much difficulty, relinguiſh his ancient patron. He likewiſe, on the other hand, foreſaw how greatly it concerned him to bring Alvarado over to his intereſt, as likewiſe the dangerous conſequences that muſt follow from his union with Cortes. He therefore ſent him a letter by expreſs, to the place of rendezvous: and his forwardneſs to conclude an aſſociation, even exceeded the viceroy's expectation, when, in order to finiſh it without delay, he ſent his major domo Auguſtine Guerrero and don Lewis de Caſtilla. And during this congreſs, Franciſco de Alarcon came into Pacificacion harbour, from his expedition to Cibola, as I have before obſerved.

In order to put a finiſhing hand to the contract, it was agreed that the viceroy and Alvarado ſhould have a meeting at Chinibitio, a town of Mechoacan. Accordingly, the viceroy went poſt thither from Mexico. The conferences being ended, they went together to ſee the armada; and from thence they returned to Mexico, to appoint a commander in chief of the whole fleet; an eſſential point, but in which they did not agree, each being for putting in a creature of their own. Alarcon was called away to Guatemala, on important affairs relating to the province, and the neceſſity of making the leaſt diſpoſitions for the enterpriſe. Theſe preparatives took up a long time; during which, every perſon expreſſed his abhorrence of Alvarado's proceedings againſt Cortes, to whom he was indebted for every thing he enjoyed. This alſo increaſed the rancour between the viceroy and Cortes, to the moſt indecent extremities: and the latter finding there was no redreſs, to be expected in New Spain, reſolved to make a ſecond voyage to Europe, in order to ſeek it from the juſtice and goodneſs of the emperor. Accordingly he embarked for Spain, with his two ſons in the year 1540; attended the emperor in the unfortunate expedition to Algiers; and after ſeven years ſpent in the idle buſtle of the court, and anxiety for the diſpatch of his affairs, which were deſignedly prolonged in order to hinder his return, he at length died on the 2d of December 1547, in a manner becoming a chriſtian, at Caſtilleja de la Cueſta, as he was going to meet his daughter at Cadiz. He was a man truly worthy of immortal reputation, and not inferior to the moſt celebrated heroes. The few failings he had, are hid by the luſtre of his many virtues, political, military, and chriſtian; eſpecially his moſt ardent zeal for the propagation of religion. If at the time of the conqueſt the Indians were treated with an unwarrantable ſeverity, he may in ſome meaſure be diſculpated by neceſſity, and the fury of his ſoldiers, which officers often find too difficult to be reſtrained. But when he acted of himſelf, the goodneſs of his heart was always conſpicuous: and if in the abovementioned particular, and the ſlaughter of the great men of Mexico, at the battle of the Hibueras, he is not to be vindicated, yet let us hope that Omnipotence, the juſt avenger of the weak, was pleaſed to humble him here, by depriving him during the remainder of his life, of that ſucceſs which hitherto had always attented him; and that he ſhould cloſe his life in a chaos of troubles and diſappointments.

Cortes being now abſent, Pedro Alvarado haſtened the diſpoſitions for his enterpriſe with leſs reſerve. Gautemala was the ſcene of his preparatives; and when they were finiſhed, he went by laud to Pueto de Navidad, in order to embark and take upon him the command of his fleet. Here he received letters from Chriſtopher de Onate, deputy governor of Xaliſco, under Vaſquez Coronado, who was then at Cibola, informing him that he was ſurrounded by the Indians; and that unleſs he ſpeedily came to his relief, he and his people muſt abſolutely periſh. It highly concerned the enterpriſe, that the harbours of Xaliſco ſhould be ſafe; it was alſo proper to ſhew this regard to the governor, who was abſent on ſuch important ſervices; and much more to the viceroy that had ſent him, that Alvarado getting together what horſes, arms, and men he could, haſtened to the relief of Onate; and came juſt time enough to ſave him. However, the Indians continued the war with intrepid animoſity, and ſome of them having poſted themſelves among ſteep rocks, Alvarado, with a detachment of horſe and foot, attempted to diſlodge them. The

Spaniards began to march up the eminence, Alvarado encouraging them by his example. But the Indians rolling down large pieces of rock, deſtroyed ſeveral of our men; and ſome of the horſes, by the ſteepneſs of the ground, fell down the precipices. One of theſe fragments happened to tumble againſt Alvarado himſelf, who, being famous for his agility, had alighted in order to ſhun the danger, but the rock ſtriking his horſe, threw him upon his maſter, ſo that both rolled down among the rocks; by which he was ſo bruiſed, that he died in four days after at Ezatlan, ten leagues from Guadalaxara, and three hundred from Guatemala, in the year 1541. Such was the unfortunate end of Pedro Alvarado, an excellent warrior, but according to ſome not ſo good a governor; proſperous during his whole life, and unfortunate in his death; more ambitious of ſway however, than of ſolid praiſe; bold and licentious in his diſcourſe; but his true principle was intereſt. He ſo cruelly oppreſſed the Indians, that his misfortunes and thoſe of his family have been conſidered as the conſequence of ſuch a conduct. In September of the ſame year, the city of Santiago de Guatemala was deſtroyed by a tempeſt and inundation, in which was drowned his lady donna Beatriz de la Cueva, whoſe character Dias del Caſtillo vindicates againſt the cenſures of others. He had two ſons, one of which, don Pedro, was drowned in his return to Spain, and don Diego killed in a rencounter in Peru. Theſe three brothers were alſo equally unfortunate, and all, who, like him, had commanded in the conqueſt of thoſe countries.

The great fleet was now ready to ſail: but like a body without a head, came to nothing, the ſhips being forſaken, rotted in the harbours. Such was the end of an expedition, which, for ſo long a time had held in ſuſpence, and even alarmed the new world.

The viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza was extremely concerned at the cataſtrophe of Alvarada and the loſs of his armado, which was out of his power to repair: the expences of his two expeditions by land and ſea, being ſtill a great incumbrance upon him. He was however ſtill more affected at the return of Vaſquez Coronado without any advantage. This happened, as we have already obſerved, in the beginning of the following year 1542. Though he was of a ſpirit too noble to be thrown into deſpair by the firſt miſcarriages in the proſecution of deſigns, which he thought uſeful and glorious; and he had very much at heart the propagation of the faith, and the preaching of the goſpel to other nations. It was likewiſe his firm perſuaſion, that trade and conqueſts on that ſide of the South ſea, and in the eaſtern part of the Indies, without meddling with the Molucas, would be productive of immenſe advantages to the ſtate. He thought, that great as the difficulties were, they might be overcome, but he was unfortunately deprived of adding to the excellent regulations of his peaceable adminiſtration, the fruits of which are certain and ſubſtantial, ſome ſignal action which might be ranked with the achievements of other perſonages of the noble houſe of Mendoza, at that time more than ever fruitful in perſons diſtinguiſhed for arts and arms. Thus, notwithſtanding his arrears, and griefs which affected his mind, he heroically determined that ſame year 1542 to execute three enterpriſes of equal glory and advantage. The firſt was to go in perſon to reduce the Indians of Xaliſco and New Galicia, whom Alvarado's death had ſpirited up to a revolt; and the quelling of whom was the more neceſſary, as it was only through that province, that the intended conqueſt towards the North could be carried into execution. The ſecond was to ſend ſhips for ſurveying the outward or weſtern of California and America. The third to ſend other ſhips for diſcovering, and making a ſettlement in the iſlands, then called De Poniente or weſtern;

and ſince the Marianas and Philippines, as lying much nearer America than the Moluccas.

In the firſt enterpriſe he was attended by the greateſt part of all the nobility of New Spain; and by his courage, prudence, and mildneſs, the tranquillity of the whole country was in a little time reſtored. For the ſecond and third, ſuch ſhips of Alvarado's unfortunate fleet as had received any damage were repaired. Two of theſe he ſent under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portugueſe of great courage and honour, and a thorough ſeaman, to execute the ſecond enterpriſe. And the 5 others compoſed a fleet, which he gave Ruy-Lopez de Villa Lobos, a native of Malaga; being a nobleman by birth, and poſſeſſed of talents equal to the intention of this undertaking, which was to diſcover the Philippine iſlands. He put to ſea after the Portugueſe, on All ſaints day, from the harbour de Navidad; and ſteering directly Weſt, fell in with the Ladrones; proceeding from thence to Leyle Mindanao and others, which compoſe the Philippine Archipelago. But the concluſion was not anſwerable; ſeveral misfortunes attended him, and after loſing moſt of his ſhips, and being deſtitute of aſſiſtance, he was obliged to put in at the Moluccas. Here he met with ſuch indifferent reception from the Portugueſe, ſettled at

Terrenate and Tidore, that he died of grief at Amboyna, in the year 1546. The religious, together with a few laymen, the diſtreſſed remains of this expedition, obtained from the Portugueſe, the favour of returning to Spain by way of Malacca, Goa, and the Cape of Good Hope.

No other expedition to theſe iſlands was undertaken till the year 1564, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, accompanied by the celebrated religious Andres de Urdaneta, in the time of the ſecond viceroy Don Luis de Velaſco had better ſucceſs, and made a ſettlement in the Philippines.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, ſailed with his two ſhips from the ſame port de Navidad, the 27th of June, on a diſcovery of the coaſt towards the North. He touched at the bay of Santa Cruz in California, otherwiſe called Puerto del Marques del Valle, ſince Cortes had been there: this he found in 24 degrees of latitude; and following the weſtern coaſt, he came to a bay, to which he gave the name of La Magdalena, lying in 27 degrees, and in 32 degrees, he made cape del Engano; that of la Cruz in 33, and that of de la Galera in 36 and a half; and oppoſite the laſt he met with two large iſlands, 10 leagues from the coaſt, where they informed him, that at ſome diſtance there was a nation which wore cloaths: in 37 degrees and a half, he had ſight of ſome hills covered with trees, which he called San Martin, as he did alſo the cape running into the ſea at the end of theſe eminences. Beyond this to 40 degrees, the coaſt lies N. E. and S. W. and about the 40th degree he ſaw ſome mountains covered with ſnow; and betwixt them a large cape, which, in honour to the viceroy, who had ſent him, he called de Mendoza or Mendozino; and near it a ſpacious bay to which he gave the name of de Pinos, from the multitude of pine trees of an extraordinary height growing near it. In January 1543, he arrived at Cabo de Fortuna in 41 degrees, and on the 10th of March, found himſelf in 44 degrees lat. the cold very intenſe. This was the utmoſt limits of his voyage, the want of proviſions, and the bad condition of his ſhips, not admitting him to make any farther progreſs: ſo that he returned, and, on Saturday the 14th of April, entered Navidad harbour, giving it as his opinion, that ſuch an enterpriſe required ſhips of a greater ſtrength and burden, with the beſt ſails and rigging, and well ſtored with proviſions; it being very difficult to obtain a ſupply.

I have been the more particular in deſcribing the ſituation and names of the principal parts ſurveyed in this voyage, in order to compare it with other diſcoveries, eſpecially as ſeveral authors, either omit or confound this expedition, which was the laſt undertaken by this excellent viceroy, in the north of the Pacifick ſea.

In the year 1551, don Antonio de Mendoza, to the inexpreſſible grief of the Spaniards and Indians, was preferred from the viceroyalty of Mexico, to that of Peru; and his abſence, for ſeveral years, ſuſpended all further enterpriſes towards California. Only the viceroy don Luis de Velaſco, being deſirous of providing a good harbour on the weſtern coaſt for the Philippine ſhips, ſent a veſſel called the San Auguſtin, which ſoon returned without having done any thing.

In the year 1596, don Gaſpar de Zunniga, count de Monte-rey, viceroy of Mexico, received an order from Philip II. for diſcovering and making ſettlements in proper parts of California; the Engliſh, at that time taking advantage of our remiſſneſs, had began to claim the ſovereignty of the ſea. The famous ſir Francis Drake, among other things, had ſtruck the inhabitants of the coaſts of the South ſea with conſternation; and even made a ſettlement on California, to which he gave the name of New Albion, as belonging to the crown of England: in this he was followed by more of his countrymen, particularly Thomas Cavendiſh and others, who fortifying themſelves on that coaſt, moleſted our navigation to the Philippine iſlands. On the other hand there was then much talk about the ſtreight of Anian, through which the South-ſea was ſaid to communicate with that of the North, near Newfoundland; and ſhould the Engliſh find out a practicable paſſage on that ſide, our dominions, which then included all Portugueſe India, would be no longer ſecure, all the coaſt from Acapulco to Culiacan, being quite defenceleſs, and from Culiacan northward, not one ſingle ſettlement was made on the whole coaſt. Beſides the report of the rich pearls in thoſe ſeas, was far from being extinguiſhed. But the great conſideration, which chiefly prompted the heart of that religious monarch, was the propagation of the goſpel, and his compaſſion for ſo many millions of ſouls immerſed for want of preachers in the darkneſs of infidelity, and which the apoſtolick ſee had earneſtly recommended to his pious compaſſion.

The court gave the conduct of this expedition to general Sebaſtian Viſcaino, a man of undoubted courage and prudence. He was not only a good ſoldier, but alſo well verſed in ſea affairs; and his affability and mildneſs, particularly qualified him for the direction of an enterpriſe, uſually attended with many diſagreeable circumſtances to the ſhip's company, who immediately impute any ſufferings to the commander. The neceſſary diſpoſitions being made, general Viſcaino ſailed from Acapulco in three well provided ſhips, on board of which were four Franciſcan regulars. His firſt paſſage was to the iſlands of Mazatlan and port San Sebaſtian, where they watered: from thence croſſing the gulf, which they found to be 80 leagues in breadth, they landed on the eaſtern coaſt of California without any reſiſtance from the Indians, though they came down to the ſhore in great numbers. But the country not pleaſing them, they went to another harbour, which they called San Sebaſtian, where they hoiſted the royal ſtandard, as a ſign that they took poſſeſſion of it in the king's name. Here they ſtaid eight days, during which time ſome ſoldiers were ſent up to reconnoitre the country; and were ſo far from being moleſted by the natives, that they came down to the ſhore with game and fruit, their only ſubſiſtence, and pearls for traffick. The general did not, however, judge it a place proper for making a ſettlement, on account of it having no water, and the barrenneſs of the ſoil. The commodore's ſhip was therefore ſent further to look out for a more convenient place, and they all removed to that which ſince has been called de la Paz, on account of the peaceable behaviour of the Indians in that bay. Here they eſtabliſhed a garriſon within a palliſade. They likewiſe run up a ſmall church, and ſome huts with branches of trees, as the rude beginning of that ſettlement they intended for the capital of this acquiſition. The natives with great ſimplicity and candor, came to the garriſon with their fruits, fiſh, and likewiſe brought with them ſome pearls. And the religious immediately applied themſelves to gain their affections, and explained to them, in the beſt manner they were capable, the myſteries of the chriſtian religion. They diſtributed many ſmall preſents to the children, of which there were great numbers among them, and theſe with other endearments, greatly tended to gain the love of the inhabitants. They uſed to complain to the religious of the injuries done them by the ſoldiers, who, beſides other outrages, forcibly took away from them any thing they had, an evil too common in ſuch diſcoveries; but in ſeveral reſpects, of very bad conſequences. They aſked the fathers, whether they were ſons of the ſun, looking on them as deities; and entreated them to ſtay among them, and order the ſoldiers away, as being cruel and wicked. At maſs they were filled with admiration at the ſacred ceremony. They ſhewed a ready compliance to all the injunctions of the religious: and their whole behaviour ſufficiently ſhewed them to be an humane docile people; and well diſpoſed to embrace the chriſtian faith. But the general was not long in perceiving, that the ſoil produced ſo very little, that it would not ſupport ſo large a number of men. On this account, and that he might fully diſcharge his commiſſion for the diſcovery, he ſent the commodore and a tender to take a view of the coaſts and iſlands further to the northward. Thoſe that went in theſe ſhips landed on ſeeing any people; and if they were received peaceably, they ſurveyed the country, drawn up in order of battle. If any oppoſition was offered, they returned and continued their courſe. Thus they coaſted above 100 leagues. In the moſt northern part of the country to which they came, 50 ſoldiers were ſent aſhore to reconnoitre; and ſeeing it was no better than thoſe they had before viewed, were returning on board. At this the Indians became ſo ſpirited as to ſhoot ſeveral arrows at them; and the Spaniards on the other ſide faced about, and fired upon them, wounded ſome, and killed three or four, upon which the others fled. The ſoldiers, however, haſtened to the boat, in order to go on board the ſhip, which, for want of water, lay one-fourth of a league diſtant from the ſhore. As the boat would not hold above 25, the like number were obliged to remain, till it returned to fetch them off. In the mean time near 500 Indians had artfully concealed themſelves, till an opportunity offered of doing effectual execution. The boat returned; and whilſt they were getting into it confuſedly, without any apprehenſion, the Indians with a ſhout ſallied from their ambuſcade, the boat in the hurry, this occaſioned, was overſet, that our people falling into the water, their fire arms were of no uſe. Thus nineteen Spaniards miſerably periſhed, being drowned or killed by the Indians, through an inability of defending themſelves. And it was equally impoſſible for thoſe on board, however concerned at their misfortune, to give them any aſſiſtance: a few however reached the ſhip by ſwimming. It had before been deliberated about returning, for want of proviſions; with a greater quantity of which, they might have reconnoitred the fartheſt parts of the gulf. But this misfortune determined them to return to the garriſon, which they with extreme dejection reached, after having kept the ſea a month. General Viſcaino was there, but ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that he had ſcarce maize enough to ſubſiſt them, during the paſſage to the continent. And as they found no place on the coaſt, where they could get a ſupply, it was reſolved in a council of war, entirely to relinquiſh the conqueſt, without leaving in the country any ſettlers: and accordingly they returned to New Spain, at the end of the ſame year 1596.

An account of the iſſue of this expedition was ſent to court, and arrived ſoon after Philip III. had aſcended the throne, on the death of his father Philip II, which happened on the twenty-third of September 1598.

SECT. IV.

A remarkable warrant of Philip III, and other expeditions to CALIFORNIA, till the reign of Philip IV.

The political motives, which induced Philip II. to order the conqueſt of California to be undertaken with all poſſible expedition, ſtill exiſted at the acceſſion of Philip III, and became every day more and more urgent. The new king likewiſe inherited all the religion and zeal of his father; and conſequently was eaſily impreſſed by the noble motives of propagating the faith. Another reaſon was, the ſecurity of the navigation, undertaken to the Philippines: for the ſhips, in return from thoſe iſlands to New Spain, always came within ſight of cape Mendozina;

and the violence of the north weſt winds in that part, rendered it neceſſary to have ſome ſhelter near that cape, where they might ſafely land for refreſhment and water; for want of which, many ſhips had been loſt: and thoſe who had arrived at Acapulco, were in a miſerable condition. Accordingly on the twenty-ſeventh of September 1599, an order was ſent to the count de Monte-rey, that out of the royal revenue, a new diſcovery and ſettlement in California, ſhould be undertaken with all poſſible vigour: but inſtead of the eaſtern coaſt of the gulf, the weſtern coaſt of the South ſea ſhould be ſurveyed. The viceroy, after maturely weighing every circumſtance, to ſecure the ſucceſs of an attempt, which, from repeated miſcarriages, during the courſe of the whole preceding century, had an appearance of extreme difficulty, appointed for commander in chief, the ſame Sebaſtian Viſcaino, who had commanded in the late expedition, and from his zeal for the royal commands, neglected nothing which might contribute to the ſecurity and advantage of the enterpriſe. On the fifth of May 1632, general Viſcaino ſailed from Acapulco harbour with two ſhips, a frigate and a barco longo, and with him three bare footed Carmelites, one of whom, Antonio de la Aſcenſion, wrote a particular account of the expedition, an extract from which, by Torquemada, I have inſerted in at the end of this work. In the mean time it will be ſufficient to read the ſuccinct, though entertaining narrative, contained in the royal ſchedule, which I ſhall now tranſcribe; from whence it is evident, that he took an accurate view of the coaſt, as far as cape Mendozina in forty degrees. And even reconnoitred cape Blanco de San Sebaſtian, in forty-one degrees and a half. Before he came to theſe places, he ſaw a large harbour near the Punto de Pinos, or Pine-cape, provided with every thing that could be deſired, for the ſecurity and repair of ſhips: and which, in honour of the viceroy, by whom he had been ſent, he called Puerto de Monte-rey. However, finding the impoſſibility of making any longer ſtay on that coaſt, they returned to New Spain, arriving at Acapulco in March 1603.

The fatigues, diſtreſſes, ſickneſſes, and dangers of this voyage were ſufficient to diſcourage the moſt reſolute. However, general Viſcaino, inured to hardſhips, and in expectation of obtaining both glory and advantage in making the conqueſt, ſtrongly ſollicited the viceroy that he might make a freſh attempt at his own expence; but rightly judging that nothing of that kind muſt be undertaken, without the permiſſion of his majeſty, who had taken it into his own hand, Viſcaino made a voyage into

Spain, to ſollicit the affair at court. Here in his memorial, he ſet forth the great advantage of the expedition, in very lively colours. The ſupreme council of the Indies, however warned by the little effect of the two preceding attempts, in which very large ſums of the royal revenue had been expended, without any benefit, deferred coming to a reſolution, till they had received freſh informations, proceeding ſtep by ſtep in a matter reputed of ſo great conſequence. Thus general Viſcaino, who had a capacity and courage, which carried him with honour, through all the difficulties and dangers of war, both by ſea and land, could not make his way through the fickleneſs, intrigues, and traverſes of the court; ſo that he left it full of diſcontent, and returning to New Spain, ſpent the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. However, the conſequence ſoon juſtified the ſlowneſs which had preceded the reſolution: for ſcarce had the general left Spain, when, on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1606, the king ſigned two commiſſions, directed to don Juan de Mendoza, and Luna marquiſs of Montes Claros, recently made viceroy of New Spain, and don Pedro de Acunna, governor and captain general of the Philippine iſlands, drawn up with ſuch prudence, and filled with ſuch ſagacious remarks on the importance and diſpoſition neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the deſign, as render them worthy of being laid before the publick, eſpecially as they confirm what I have related; I ſhall therefore here inſert an exact copy of that ſent to don Pedro de Acunna.

By the KING.

Don Pedro de Acunna, knight of the order of St. John, my governor and captain general of the Philippine iſlands, and preſident of my royal audience there: you are hereby given to underſtand, that don Luis de Velaſco, my late viceroy in New Spain, in regard to the great diſtance between the port of Acapulco and thoſe iſlands, the fatigue, hardſhip, and danger of that voyage, for want of a port where the ſhips might put in, and provide themſelves with water, wood, maſts, and other things of abſolute neceſſity, determined to make a diſcovery and draughts, with obſervations of the harbours along the coaſt, from New Spain to theſe iſlands; and ordered this ſervice to be performed in a ſhip called the San Auguſtin, the loſs of which, at that time, fruſtrated the ſaid diſcovery: and that the count de Monte-rey, who ſucceeded him in that government; having the ſame opinion of the inconveniences of that voyage, and the ſame zeal for removing them, by purſuing the diſcovery, intended by don Luis de Velaſco, wrote to me concerning it; and was of opinion, that ſmall veſſels from the harbour of Acapulco, were the fitteſt; and, that in the diſcovery might be included the coaſts and bays of the gulf of California, and of the fiſhery; to which, in my letter of the twenty-ſeventh of September 1599, I ordered to be anſwered, that the diſcovery and making draughts, with obſervations of that coaſt and the bays along it, having appeared to me highly convenient, it was my will he ſhould immediately put it in execution, without troubling himſelf about that of California, unleſs occaſionally. Agreeably to this, he appointed for the conduct of the enterpriſe, Sebaſtian Viſcaino as an experienced navigator, particularly acquainted with the voyage in queſtion, and, in whom, he placed an entire confidence: and having furniſhed him with two ſhips and a tender, well provided with all neceſſaries for a year, he immediately embarked with a ſuitable number of ſeamen and ſoldiers; and an able coſmographer ſkilled in maps, in order that the parts and places diſcovered, might be ſet down with the greater clearneſs and accuracy: having with him orders and inſtructions how he was to proceed, and what he was to do, he put to ſea from Acapulco harbour, on the fifth of May 1602, 1602, according to the advice ſent me by the ſaid count de Monte-rey and Sebaſtian Viſcaino, who, after ſeveral letters, the laſt of which was on the laſt day of April 1604, informed me that he had been eleven months on the voyage: and that from the ſaid harbour he had began to ſound and take draughts of the coaſts, harbours, creeks, and bays, as far as the twenty-ſeventh degree, with all neceſſary preciſion and exactneſs: and that from twenty-ſix degrees to forty-two, he did no more than keep within ſight of land, ſo that he was not able to make ſuch particular obſervations, as he had done till the twenty-ſeventh degree. Soon after, many of his people fell ſick, and the weather being very unfavourable, he could only obſerve that the coaſt, as far as forty degrees, lies north weſt, and ſouth eaſt; and that in the other two degrees, which make up the forty-two, it lies almoſt north and ſouth. He added that between the mouth of the gulf of California, to 37 degrees, he met with three very good harbours, on the continent: theſe are San Diego in thirty-two degrees, with another contiguous to it, but ſmaller; and that of San Diego, which is very ſpacious, being capable of containing many ſhips, and, at the ſame time afford both water and wood: and that the third, called Monte-rey, was ſtill better, and more convenient for the China galleons, and for the relief of ſhips in their voyage to and from theſe iſlands. It is ſituated in 37 degrees north latitude; and its wood and water preferable, and in greater plenty than the other; is well ſheltered from all winds, and along its ſhore are great numbers of pine trees fit for maſts, and lies very conveniently for ſhips returning from the Philippine iſlands to put into; and thus, in caſe of ſtorms, avoid the neceſſity of making for Japan, as they have ſeveral times done, and expended great ſums of money. Beſides they uſually have ſight of the coaſt of China, which is an additional benefit, as by knowing where they are, they will not as formerly, in caſe of bad weather, make for Japan or thoſe iſlands, as the ſame winds which would carry them thither, bring them into this ſafe harbour. They further ſay, that the climate is mild, and the country covered with trees, the ſoil fruitful and well peopled, and that the natives are of ſo tractable, kind, and of ſo docile a temper, that they will eaſily be converted to the chriſtian religion, and become ſubject to my holy crown. That their chief ſubſiſtence is on the ſpontaneous products of the earth, and the fleſh they catch in hunting, of which there is a remarkable plenty. That their cloathing is of the ſkins of ſea wolves, which they have a very good method of tanning and preparing; and that they have abundance of flax, hemp, and cotton: And that the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino, carefully informed himſelf of theſe Indians, and many others whom he diſcovered along the coaſt for above 800 leagues, and they all told him, that up the country there were large towns, ſilver, and gold; whence he is inclined to believe that great riches may be diſcovered, eſpecially as in ſome parts of the land veins of metals are to be ſeen; and that the time of their ſummer being known, a farther diſcovery might be made of them by going within the country, and that the remainder of it may be diſcovered along the coaſt, as it reaches beyond 42 degrees, the limits ſpecified to the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino in his inſtructions; he came to Japan and the coaſt of China, and that he could not return by the mouth of California, as I had ſent orders he ſhould be directed, on account of a great mortality among his people, and the decay of the proviſions which obliged him to haſten his return. And the cufmographer Andrew Garcia de Ceſpedes, having made his appearance in my royal council of the Indies, together with the narratives and draughts which were ſent with a ſeparate plan of each harbour, of thoſe diſcovered by the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino; and having

ing in council heard the report of the coſmographer, and conſidering how much it concerns the ſecurity of ſhips coming from thoſe iſlands, in a voyage of no leſs than 2000 leagues, on a wide and tempeſtuous ſea, that they ſhould be provided with a port where they might put in and furniſh themſelves with water, wood, and proviſions: that the ſaid port of Monte-rey, lies in 37 degrees, nearly about half way the voyage, having all the good qualities which could be deſired; it ſeems to me that all ſhips coming from thoſe iſlands, as they make that coaſt, ſhould put into this port, and there refit and provide themſelves: and in order to the beginning a deſign of ſuch utility, and that it may be publickly known, I have by another commiſſion of the ſame date, ordered and directed the marquis de Montes Claros, my preſent viceroy of the ſaid provinces of New Spain, that he uſe all poſſible care and diligence to find out the ſaid general Sebaſtian Viſcaino, as the perſon who made the ſaid diſcovery, having coaſted it all along from Acapulco to cape Mendozino. And in caſe he be not living, to make the like enquiry after the commander of his ſhip, and that on his being found, he immediately prepare to go to theſe iſlands, taking care to carry with him his chief pilot, and that of the ſaid commander. And that his going on this deſirable ſervice may be with all convenient diſpatch; I have alſo ordered the ſaid marquis, that the ſhips which are to be ſent to theſe iſlands be of the uſual form hitherto uſed, there being little appearance that you have any ſhips ready of 200 tons, as they are to be agreeable to a new order which I have iſſued relating to them, on account of the ſhortneſs of time, and which nominates, as commander of thoſe ſhips, Sebaſtian Viſcaino, and for his captain, he who was with him at the diſcovery of the ſaid port, if they are both living: and in caſe either of them be dead, the ſurvivor to be commander in chief; and for firſt pilot, the perſon who was in that poſt under Sebaſtian Viſcaino, or under his captain, in order that having the ſhips under their charge, they may at their return conſider the beſt manner of making a ſettlement at the ſaid Puerto de Monterey: and thus introduce the touching at that port, and carefully inſtruct the pilots and ſailors on the neceſſary particulars of the voyage; eſpecially two perſons well qualified, whom you are hereby ordered to ſend from theſe iſlands, with the ſaid general Viſcaino, that they may be acquainted with the ſaid port, and may return general and commander of the ſhips, which are to go from Acapulco to thoſe iſlands in the year 1608; Sebaſtian Viſcaino being to conduct the ſettlement of the ſaid port, to whom, and the ſaid Sebaſtian Viſcaino and his ſea captain, it is my will and pleaſure that you in all things ſhow all poſſible countenance and regard. It is alſo my will, that they receive the pay which other generals and commanders have received in the ſaid voyage: and that it be paid them in the uſual form and manner. And that the premiſes may obtain the end deſired, I charge you to aid and aſſiſt them with the utmoſt care and diligence, as I promiſe myſelf from your prudence and zeal: and that you acquaint me with what ſhall be performed. Dated at San Lorenzo L. Real, on the 19th of Auguſt, 1606.

This royal commiſſion places in a full light the ſenſe of the ſupreme council of the Indies, the king of Spain and his miniſtry, with regard to the importance and means of ſettling a colony on the weſtern coaſt of California, by peopling Puerto de Monte-rey. But theſe wiſe meaſures came to nothing, the royal ſchedule not taking effect; for the viceroy, in obedience to the royal command, made enquiry after general Sebaſtian Viſcaino, who was very readily found; but while he was preparing with great alacrity to accompliſh an enterpriſe, the great advantages of which were but imperfectly known till verified by time and experience; he was ſeized with a fatal diſtemper, and with him were buried the well grounded hopes of the expedition: why ſuch poſitive and expreſs orders of the king were not carried into execution, though the general was dead, remains a myſtery; we only know, that nothing was then done, nor has been done, of what was at that time ſo well concerted, and in which, the dictates of wiſdom and long deliberation were enforced by the power of majeſty.

During the ſucceeding nine years, inconſiderable voyages only were made to California, and theſe rather to fiſh for pearls, or procure them by barter, than to make any ſettlement, and therefore they have been thought below any ſeparate account, eſpecially as in the ſubſequent royal commiſſions they are only mentioned in general without any circumſtances. At length, in the year 1615, captain Juan Iturbi, obtained a licence for making a new voyage at his own expence. One of his two ſhips was taken by a ſet of European pirates, who made themſelves famous in America, under the name of Pichilingues, and to the great diſhonour of the Spaniſh power infeſted the South-ſeas, till their inſolencies clearly proved the neceſſity of reducing California, as they there ſecurely ſheltered themſelves: with his other ſhip Iturbi entered the bay of California;

and proceeded to the height of 30 degrees, where he obſerved that the two coaſts of Cinaloa and California gradually approached each other. But the N. W. winds, and the ſhortneſs of proviſions, hindered him from going any farther. He therefore thought proper to return; but was ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that he and his company muſt inevitably have periſhed, without the almoſt miraculous relief he met with in the village of Ahomé in Cinaloa; by means of the miſſionary father Andres Perez de Ribas, provincial of the jeſuits in New Spain, who ſeveral years afterwards wrote an account of this expedition. From Ahomé he directed his courſe to Cinaloa, where he received orders from the viceroy don Diego Fernandes de Cordova, marquis of Guadal-caſar, to make the beſt of his way to meet and convoy the ſhip from the Philippine iſlands, which it was greatly feared would fall into the hands of the Dutch corſairs, who then openly infeſted thoſe ſeas under their own colours, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of the trade to the Eaſt Indies.

Iturbi accordingly ſailed from the gulf into the South-ſea, and brought the ſhip which occaſioned ſo much anxiety, ſafe into Acapulco: from thence he went to Mexico, where the pearls he brought with him filled the whole city with admiration. He had a great number of them, the moſt were of a brown tinct, occaſioned by the Indians, as we have already obſerved, putting the ſhells into the fire, in order to dreſs the fleſh of the oyſters. Others he had of a larger ſort, and without any damage, which were taken up by his own divers; and ſo large and clear, that for one only, he paid, as the king's fifth, 900 crowns.

Theſe pearls animated the Mexicans to attempt the conqueſt and ſettlement of California: a great many private perſons, from the coaſts of Culiacan and Chametla, made trips in ſmall boats to the coaſt of California, either to fiſh for pearls, or purchaſe them of the Indians. And ſeveral acts of cruelty and outrage, were committed on theſe poor people; which however did not always eſcape puniſhment. A few adventurers enriched themſelves by this trade: and there are very ſurpriſing accounts of the wealth accumulated by Antonio del Caſtillo, an inhabitant of Chametla; which naturally increaſed the univerſal impatience for making the conqueſt. In the year 1628, Philip IV. being king of Spain, captain Antonio Baſtan came over to Spain for a licence, offering to undertake it at his own expence. The ſupreme council of the Indies, by a ſchedule of the 2d of Auguſt of the ſame year, required the marquiſs de Cerralvo their viceroy, to ſend them farther informations. The viceroy and council appointed don Juan Alvarez, auditor of the royal audience, to collect proper accounts, and under pretence of greater certainty, and a more particular detail, obtained a licence from the viceroy, for captain Francis de Ortega, to make a voyage thither at his own expence; and he was either more fortunate or ſkilful than his predeceſſors. He ſailed in March 1632, in a veſſel of ſeventy tons, having with him Diego de la Nava, a prieſt whom the biſhop of Guadalaxara had nominated vicar of California. He landed on the ſecond of May, and having taken a particular ſurvey of the whole coaſt, from San Barnabe's bay, to Puerto de la Paz, purchaſed many pearls, and found the Indians generally very friendly and tractable, except in ſome parts, where they had been injured by thoſe who had come thither to trade for pearls. In June they returned to the coaſt of Cinaloa, whence they proceeded to lay the whole voyage before the viceroy.

Captain Ortega very probably had found his account in this voyage, as by permiſſion from the viceroy, he made two other trips thither, in the years 33 and 34, with an intent of making a ſettlement. It was his opinion, that the Indians of Puerto de la Paz, might eaſily be prevailed on to embrace the chriſtian religion, and for the accompliſhment of this moſt deſirable end, with the vicar Nava was ſent, another prieſt called don Juan de Zunniga. In both voyages he took care to lay in as large a quantity of proviſions as poſſible; yet in both, they were all conſumed, and he returned to Mexico, having experienced the ſame melancholy circumſtances, all the others had ſelt before him, namely, the barrenneſs and total want of ſuſtenance in the country. He, however, laid before the government two propoſals; the firſt that the garriſon of Acaponeta ſhould be removed as uſeleſs, to the coaſt of California, Cinaloa being in a peaceable condition: and thus that body might ſerve to protect the conqueſt, and be a ſafeguard to ſettlers up the country. The ſecond, that a ſum of money ſhould be allowed in New Spain for ſending proviſions to thoſe who ſhould ſettle there. He was very aſſiduous to procure the countenance of the viceroy and the miniſtry, to theſe two maxims, which indeed were very juſt and prudent: urging at the ſame time, the immediate execution of them. He was deſirous of making a fourth voyage thither, on a ſure foundation, but had the mortification to hear that Eſtevan Carboneli his pilot, had obtained a licence from the viceroy, to make a freſh attempt at his own expence. Carboneli had not only ſupplanted his patron Ortega, but likewiſe blamed him, alledging that all the diſtreſſes of the three voyages, were owing to his neglect or fear, in not landing in California at a higher latitude; where he engaged to find a fertile country, and his people and the ſettlers meet with a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Full of his ſcheme, he ſailed for California in the year 1536. But though he went as high as poſſible, he in all parts, found only Indians, living naked in a barren land, ſupporting themſelves with ſhell fiſh, fruits, and game, without the leaſt appearance of culture or harveſt. Thus, after procuring ſome pearls, to comfort him in his diſappointment, he returned to New Spain, where Ortega had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this new undertaker, become the object of publick deriſion.

To this æra, belong the contents of a paper, publiſhed at London, under the title of the narrative of Bartholomew de Fuentes, commander in chief of the navy in New Spain and Peru, and preſident of Chili; giving an account of the moſt remarkable tranſactions and adventures in this voyage, for the diſcovery of a paſſage from the South ſea, to that of the North in the northern hemiſphere, by order of the viceroy of Peru, in the year 1640. This writing contains ſeveral accounts relating to California; but without entering at preſent into long diſputes, let it ſuffice to ſay, that little credit is to be given to this narrative. For the ſame reaſon we have before omitted the accounts of voyages made from the South ſea to the North round, beyond California; and thoſe of a contrary direction, of which an account is given by captains Seixas and Lobera, in Theatro Naval, in Spaniſh and French; and particularly of that Spaniard who is ſuppoſed in three months to have come from Puerto de Navidad, and Cabo Corientes to Liſbon. Theſe and other accounts, diſperſed in different books, we deſignedly omit, as they want the neceſſary authenticity. Let us now return to our narrative.

So many unſucceſsful expeditions to California, ſo far from indiſpoſing the minds of people to any further attempts, ſeemed rather to inflame their deſires; eſpecially as ſome pearls were brought from thence, with exaggerated reports of their prodigious plenty. Beſides, as the generality of thoſe, who tranſport themſelves to America, without any poſt or employment, are ſeduced with the hopes of ſpeedily acquiring a fortune with little or no fatigue: and as the nature and ſtate of the country, does not afford means for many, even to get a tolerable ſupport, there being no manufactures in which they can employ themſelves: and working of the mines and culture of the lands, the two fatal cauſes of the diſpeopling and wretchedneſs of ſuch fruitful countries, are laborious, a ſufficient number is always found, who, having little or nothing to venture, eaſily conceive ſanguine hopes of mending their fortunes in ſome new enterpriſe. The government was actuated by other ſprings; but knowing that great numbers would offer to ſerve, contributed to faciliate the execution. The importance of the enterpriſe, after ſo many fruitleſs attempts, being evident, the viceroy don Diego Lopez Pacheco, marquis de Villena, and duke of Eſcalona, reſolved that it ſhould be again attempted at his majeſty's expence. But in order to proceed with greater circumſpection than had been hitherto obſerved, he ſent directions to don Luis Ceſtin de Canas, governor of Cinaloa, that as his province lay oppoſite to California, he ſhould, with the ſoldiers of his garriſon, paſs over and take a ſurvey of its coaſts, iſlands, bays, creeks, and the diſpoſition and nature of the ground; at the ſame time he deſired father Luis de Bonifaz, provincial of the jeſuits, to recommend an able perſon of that order, to accompany him; and he very juſtly recommended father Jacinto Cortes, a miſſionary in the ſaid province of Cinaloa. There would have been little occaſion for this preparatory ſurvey, after ſo many others which had been continually making for above a century, had the reports, narratives, charts, draughts, and maps, which were made, or ſhould have been made, by ſo many diſcoveries, ſtill continued in being. But theſe are the effects of the want of proper care in preſerving papers, a fault to be regretted by perſons in power, to whom they would be of ſervice in the conduct of affairs, and by private perſons, on account of their intereſt, or as entertainments of a commendable curioſity. Another cauſe of their want of ſuch documents, is the neglecting to render common and publick, by means of the preſs, every thing which now and in future times, may be uſeful to religion and the ſtate. But by the loſs of ſome papers, either through a change in the government, or irregularity in the records, the whole advantage of an expedition is loſt; ſo that often the expences muſt be renewed, or the diſpoſitions faulty, for want of thoſe lights which might always be at hand, without any other coſt, than that of a juſt regard to poſterity. At laſt the ſurvey was made, in the month of July 1642, as appears from father Cortes's letter, in which he acquaints the father provincial, that from Cinaloa they went to ſome iſlands, to which they gave the name of San Joſeph, and that the inhabitants received them with pleaſure, as being friends of the Spaniards, who came thither to dive for pearls; becauſe they protected them from the Guicuros, their enemies, who lived on the continent. From thence, ſays father Cortes, we coaſted along the ſhore, forty leagues weſtward to la Paz. He confirms the accounts of the pearls, the poverty of the natives, and their good diſpoſitions for embracing the faith. He alſo touches upon their cuſtoms, and the extent of the coaſt, concluding with a requeſt, that ſhould a door be opened for the goſpel among theſe unhappy creatures, he may be appointed miſſionary to them. The governor likewiſe ſent his report to the viceroy, which he accompanied with pearls, collected in this expedition.

It was now out of the viceroy's power to iſſue the orders he could have wiſhed, in conſequence of this account, being at that juncture ſucceeded in the government, by don Juan de Palafox and Mendoza biſhop de los Angeles, the marquis having been diſplaced, from ſome ill-grounded ſuſpicions of his loyalty, fomented by malicious informations. The marquis returned to Spain, where he honourably cleared himſelf of the ſlander, which God at length cauſed to fall on the heads of its authors. And he might have returned to Mexico, as the offer was made him by Philip IV. had he not preferred the viceroyſhip of Sicily, which at that time alſo, ſtood in need of a man of the marquis's abilities. However, he was ſo far from forgetting the conqueſt of California, that it was owing to his repreſentations to the king, that now more numerous and effectual preparatives were making for it than ever. The admiral don Pedro Portel de Caſanate, was ordered without delay, to go from Spain to Mexico, with full power and neceſſaries to equip a fleet, and make ſettlements in California. Alſo to do whatever he thought would conduce to bring thoſe people into the boſom of the church, and to ſecure the coaſts, as dominions of his majeſty, for the ſafety of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects. The admiral reached New Spain at the end of the year 1643, and the new viceroy don Garcia Sarmiento and Sotomayor count de Salva-Terra, agreeably to the royal orders aſſiſted him in the armament; and jointly with the admiral, conferred the ſpiritual government of the ſquadron and of California, on the reverend father of the jeſuits, in a letter written to the provincial father Luis de Bonifaz, which I with pleaſure inſert here, as a memorial both of the piety and courteſy of this excellent viceroy.

" Moſt reverend father provincial, his majeſty, whom God preſerve, has been pleaſed to commit the diſcovery of California, to the care and diligence of don Pedro de Caſſanate, an affair which many have attempted, without thoroughly accompliſhing it: and as the conſummate experience of this gentleman, in ſea affairs, together with his other abilities, give the moſt certain hopes of the deſired effect from his voyage and endeavours, particularly as he carries with him ſome fathers of your reſpectable company, which gives me great pleaſure: and I prophecy the moſt happy ſucceſſes. I ſhould therefore eſteem it an obligation, if your paternal reverence would condeſcend to aſſiſt him on all occaſions. And that you will be pleaſed to order the like to be done in all the houſes and miſſions under your ſuperintendance, as is agreeable to the ſervice of God and his majeſty. And your paternal reverence knows, that you may command me in any thing within my power. I conclude with requeſting you to ſecond this affair, and do all poſſible good offices to admiral Caſſanate, October 13th 1643.

The provincial, equally complaiſant, acknowledged both to the viceroy and the admiral, how greatly he approved of their choice, in ſo glorious an expedition, making at the ſame time, a tender of his own perſon, and all dependant on him; and on the 15th of October, ſent ſuitable inſtructions and orders, nominating the father Jacinto Cortes and Andres Baes, miſſionaries of Cinaloa, to accompany the admiral in the deſcent. The active Caſſanate went over to the ports on the South ſea, to haſten the equipment of the ſhips, and in 1644, ſailed with them for the coaſt of Cinaloa, where he was to take in the miſſionaries, with ſome men and proviſions. Being come to Cinaloa, where every thing ſeemed to promiſe, that now the conqueſt could not fail of being compleated, he received an account that ſome Engliſh and Dutch privateers had appeared in thoſe ſeas, to intercept the Acapulco ſhip, with orders to ſail immediately to the South ſea, in order to meet with, and conduct her into port. This ſervice he happily performed: but while, he was again preparing to ſail on his principal deſign, ſome malicious perſons ſet two of his ſhips on fire. And thus he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of ſuſpending the enterpriſe. This misfortune, however, did not diſcourage the admiral, who ordered two others to be built on the coaſt of Cinaloa; and in the year 1648, ſailed with them, accompanied by the two jeſuits. He took a very careful ſurvey of the eaſtern coaſt of the gulf, with a view of finding a proper place for fixing the principal garriſon; but he found himſelf ſurrounded with the ſame difficulties, as had ſo often rendered the attempt abortive, the dryneſs and ſterility of the country.

. And while he was ſteering from coaſt
coaſt, and from bay to bay, he received a
ond order to meet the Philippine or Acapulco
p, which was always in danger from enemies,
o, not content with inſulting the dominions
the Spaniſh monarchy, under its then un-
ppy ſtate of diminution, weakneſs, and total
ſ of reputation, moleſted the little commerce
had in theſe ſeas, which its ſubjects had diſ-
vered with ſo much glory, above a century
ſt. The admiral a ſecond time brought the
p ſafe into Acapulco; and from thence went
lay before the viceroy, the difficulties at-
nding the conqueſt of California, which for
at time was laid aſide; and ſhortly after, this
ſerving officer was promoted to the govern-
ent of the exuberant, but poor kingdom of
hili.

Philip IV. however, a little before his death,
hich happened on the 17th of September
665, had ordered the reduction of California
be again completed. And the perſon no-
inated to put this order in execution, was don
ernardo Bernal de Pinadero, but under certain
onditions, both the treaſury and nation being
xhauſted, notwithſtanding the importation of
many millions, which had only ſerved to
nrich the other parts of Europe. But Mexico
bouring under that fatal languor, which had

pervaded the whole body of the Spaniſh monarchy, two ſmall veſſels, built in the Valle de Venderas, were not ready for the expedition till the year 1664, when the voyage took place, and the ſhips being arrived at California, their whole care and employment was to purchaſe and fiſh for pearls; compelling with the moſt barbarous violence, the poor Californians to comply with their demands. As this avarice and cruelty little contributed to the capital intention of their voyage, ſo it became, in ſome meaſure, its own puniſhment; for the quarrels among the Spaniards, with regard to the riches they had found, were carried to ſuch extremity that ſeveral were killed and wounded, and the admiral, to avoid farther confuſion, having procured a large quantity of pearls, returned to New-Spain. He however met with a cold reception from the government, and the affair having been debated in the council of the Indies, the queen mother, then regent, during the minority of Charles II. ſent orders, that admiral Pinadero ſhould be obliged, conformable to the treaty made with the king, to attempt another deſcent. The admiral was not averſe to this, and accordingly in two ſhips built at Chacala, he ſailed on another expedition in the year 1667. Father Kino mentions it, but all he ſays, is, that it miſcarried like all the former.

Nor was fortune more favourable to captain Franciſco Luzenilla, who, in the following year 1668, obtained a licence for an expedition at his own expence, with two ſhips accompanied by two Franciſcans, Juan Cavallero Carranco, and Juan Baptiſta Ramirez. He arrived at cape San Lucas, and proceeded to make a ſettlement at Puerto de la Paz, where the religious employed their zeal for the converſion of the natives; but the difficulties were inſuperable, ſo that the captain was obliged to abandon his new ſettlement. He next ſailed to a bay near the river Hiaqui: from whence the religious, that their miſſion might not be entirely fruitleſs, penetrated up the country as far as the province of Nayaret, where they ſpent ſome time in propagating the chriſtian religion among its ſavage inhabitants; the care of whom, the ſociety of jeſuits undertook ſome years after.

SECT. V.

The laſt expeditions to CALIFORNIA, till the end of the reign of Charles II.

During the firſt year of the reign and minority of Charles II. no other expeditions were undertaken to California than thoſe we have already mentioned; but the inhabitants of the coaſt of Culiacan, Cinaloa, Yaqui, Mayo, and New Biſcay, were continually going over in little barks, to the eaſtern coaſt, to procure pearls, either by barter or fiſhing. In the mean time, the neceſſity of making a ſettlement on the coaſt of California, after a long deliberation in the council of the Indies, was determined, and inſtructions ſent on the 26th of February 1677, to don Francis Payo Enriquez de Rivera, archbiſhop of Mexico, and viceroy of New Spain, that admiral Pinadero ſhould be again employed in the conqueſt of that country, on his giving ſecurity for performing all the articles that ſhould be agreed on: and that if he declined it, the offer ſhould be made to any perſon that would undertake it at his own expence: and laſtly, if no other method could be diſcovered, it ſhould be done at the expence of the crown. The enterpriſe fell to admiral don Iſedro Otondo and Antillion, who ſigned an inſtrument for that purpoſe in December 1678, and which was approved at Madrid, by a warrant of the 29th of December 1679, conferring the ſpiritual government on the jeſuits, and father Euſebio Franciſco Kino. On the receipt of his majeſty's approbation, the admiral began his preparations, and put to ſea from Chacala, on the 18th of May 1683, above ſix years ſince his majeſty's firſt warrant: and in fourteen days came to Puerto de la Paz. He had with him two ſhips, very well provided with all kinds of ſtores, and above one hundred men, three of whom were father Kino as ſuperor of the miſſion, and the fathers Juan Baptiſta Copart, and Pedro Matthias Goni. They were to be followed by a bilander, with proviſions and other ſtores; but after ſeveral diſappointments, ſhe wandered a long time about the gulf, without ever getting ſight of the ſhips.

The admiral and his men continued aboard five days, without ſeeing any Indians as they expected, on which, at laſt they landed; but on their beginning to form a garriſon, they diſcovered the natives armed, and diſfigured with variety of colours, to ſtrike the greater terror; but ſeeing a large number of people, they halted and made threatening geſtures, intimating that the Spaniards ſhould quit the coaſt. This proceeded from the abuſes their good nature had ſuffered from other Spaniards, who had landed there. The ſoldiers drew up, and the miſſionaries went without any attendants towards them, with a great number of little preſents, and ſome proviſions, intimating by ſigns, that they came peaceably. They gave them the preſents, which the Indians threw on the ground. But while the fathers were returning, the Indians began to eat what they had at firſt thrown away with diſdain, and immediately haſtened after the fathers, begging for more; and even without any fear or ſuſpicion, followed them into the garriſon among the ſoldiers, where they were ſo kindly entertained, that they went away to their rancherias highly pleaſed, ſo tractable and unſuſpecting are all theſe poor Indians in general. The like happened to another company of them, which came two days after to the Spaniſh camp, and were kindly entertained by admiral Otondo, who came to ſhew them an experiment of the force of fire-arms, deſiring eight of the moſt robuſt of them, to ſhoot their arrows againſt one of the leathern targets which the ſoldiers carried: which they did, but could not penetrate it. Whereas a muſket ball fired off before them, made its way through three targets placed cloſe together. At this, they ſhowed the greateſt aſtoniſhment. It alſo inſpired them with ſuch terror, that the Spaniards were under little apprehenſions of any inſults. A church was immediately raiſed, together with ſome huts, compoſed of branches of trees. And the admiral having ſent a veſſel to Rio Hiaqui for proviſions, began to ſend parties up the country.

The firſt directed their way to the ſouth weſt of la Paz, as the Indians called Guaycuros came down from thence to the garriſon, but always armed, and never bringing with them their wives or children. And at length became ſo tired of their gueſts, that they more than once ordered them to be gone, and leave their country. But notwithſtanding this, the admiral with don Franciſco Pereda, captain of the admiral's ſhip and other officers, together with father Kino and Joſeph de Guijoſa, went up the country eſcorted by a party of twenty-five ſoldiers, ſome labourers going before, to make a way through the foreſt, the paths being only paſſable by the naked Indians. After marching ſeven leagues with great difficulty, they came to a plain, on which they ſaw rancherias of the Indians; who immediately endeavoured to conceal their wives and children: and in order to this, ſome of them came out to receive the Spaniards and amuſe them, telling them that the aguage or watering place was not there; but when their families were ſecured, they would ſhow it. The Spaniards ſpent the night there, regaling the Indians, and ſhewing them all poſſible marks of kindneſs. But they ſtill kept their weapons in their hands, nor did the chriſtians forget the precautions, neceſſary to be obſerved in an enemy's country. The next day, ſeeing the impoſſibity of going further up the country, on account of its ruggedneſs, and the want of water and proviſions, the party re-

turned

turned to the garriſon. It was apprehended, that nothing but the fear of thoſe Indians who had behaved peaceably towards us, reſtrained theſe from falling upon our men. The grounds for this ſuſpicion were, a caution they uſed, when they ſaw the Spaniards at their rancherias, having ſecretly ſent twelve of the ſwifteſt, with a captain to the garriſon; from whence they returned in a few hours, and very fortunately, without any cauſe of complaint from the commander, or any of his company. The ſecond company went towards the Eaſt, headed by father Goni; but with much more fatigue and danger, this part being fuller of rocks and precipices. In a narrow valley they found another nation of Indians, called Coras, very mild and communicative. And after ſome reciprocal marks of kindneſs, they frequently came to the garriſon, and with ſo little ſuſpicion, that they often lay among the ſoldiers.

The Guaycuros were of as different a diſpoſition, openly ſhewing their diſcontent. And went ſo far as to threaten our men, that if they did not leave their country, their whole nation would unite to extirpate them. The Spaniards bore theſe inſults patiently, hoping by a courteous behaviour, to inſpire them with better ſentiments, and overcome the oppoſition they made againſt a ſettlement. But at laſt on the

6th of June, they came on a ſudden divided into two companies, and after calling out to the Spaniards to be gone, they attacked the intrenchments. Theſe were on the point of diſcharging a paderero, which would certainly have killed ſeveral of them, but happily obſerved that the admiral was advanced beyond the lines: and indeed with an intrepidity which aſtoniſhed his men, he haſtened up to the moſt advanced company, and ſpeaking to the captain in a loud fierce manner, accompanied with geſtures of reſentment, the Indian leader was quite confounded, and the two troops quietly returned to their rancherias. At this the Guaycuros began again to frequent the garriſon, though always with ſome apprehenſion. But a ſingular accident of no great importance, and a falſe account too eaſily believed, occaſioned a very unhappy rupture.

A mulatto boy belonging to the camp, being miſſing, it was at firſt believed, that he had withdrawn himſelf among ſome of the Guaycuros, in order to remain with them. In a little time a report, the riſe of which was never known, ſpread itſelf among the ſoldiers and the people of the garriſon, that the Guaycuros had murdered the boy. And this report was the more eaſily believed and magnified, from the fear which many had of the Guaycuros; and it was ſaid that ſome of the Coras knew it to be fact. The misfortune was, that not one perſon underſtood the Guaycuros language; and only one ſoldier had a ſlight knowledge of that of the Coras. The admiral judging it would be dangerous to ſuffer ſuch audacious attempts, ordered when the Guaycuros came to the garriſon, that their captain ſhould be confined. This the Indians ſo highly reſented, that the following days they came in ſeveral companies to demand his liberty; inſiſting at the ſame time, with many menaces, that the Spaniards ſhould leave their country. But ſeeing that all their meaſures had no effect, they determined to unite their forces, and fall upon the Spaniards unexpectedly. This reſolution being formed, they invited the Coras, though their enemies, to join in a cauſe, which they repreſented as common to both nations. But the Coras, though they offered their aſſiſtance, choſe rather to be faithful to the Spaniards, on whoſe aſſiſtance againſt the Guaycuros, they placed great confidence, than deprive themſelves of ſo unexpected a protection, againſt the frequent depredations and violences of the Guaycuros. And accordingly, by means of this ſoldier, they informed them of the plot, and the blow intended to be given them on the 1ſt of July. The admiral ordered the centries to be doubled; a paderero to be placed on the ſide where the Indians uſed to come down, and the people acquainted with their bloody deſign. But ſuch was the alarm and dejection, that he well underſtood he had not with him many of thoſe brave men, who had ſubdued America. The garriſon was ſtruck with conſternation; and whatever the admiral, captains, and the fathers could ſay to animate the people, nothing was heard but cries and lamentations, as if they were every one to fall victims to the rage of the Indians. This ſcandalous cowardice of his men, threw the admiral into greater perplexity, than if whole armies of Californians had appeared againſt them. The day appointed came, and the Indians ſhewed themſelves to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred, coming confuſedly from the foreſt. They ſtopped on the acclivity, as if they waited for ſuch of their companions as were not in ſight: and our people concluded, that their intention was to draw them from the garriſon, and attack them in the open field. But they remained quiet, and the Indians advanced towards the garriſon. When they came within a proper diſtance, the paderero was fired, and killed ten or twelve, beſides wounding others, ſo that they immediately, together with thoſe who lay concealed in the foreſt, fled precipitately to their rancherias.

Providence, however, permitted that this ill adviſed reſolution of the admiral, or the leading men in his ſquadron, ſhould fall upon their own heads. For ſo far was the ſlaughter of theſe innocent Indians, from removing the conſternation of the garriſon, that it became a kind of pannick, from a notion that all the natives of California would fall upon them, and take a dreadful revenge for the death of their countrymen. Another cauſe of diſcontent, was, that they had already been three months in the bay, without any advantage to compenſate for the great hardſhips they had ſuffered. Beſides, of the little proviſions remaining, the greateſt part was damaged and rotten. The ſhip which had been ſent for proviſions to the river Hiaqui, though not above eighty leagues diſtant, not having been heard of for two months, was given over for loſt. The diſcontent and affliction of many, grew to ſuch a height, that they came like people in an agony, lamenting and calling to the admiral, that he would carry them from there, even though he left them in the neighbouring iſlands. The admiral might well have feared ſome plot againſt his perſon, had not a diſagreeable experience made him eaſy on that account, for he well knew they wanted courage. He endeavoured to appeaſe them by motives of honour, and hopes of relief from the other ſhip; but theſe making no impreſſion, he found himſelf obliged to prepare for a reimbarkation; and left Puerto de la Paz, on the 14th of July. He ſtaid ſome time among the neighbouring iſlands, with an intent of returning to la Paz, if the other ſhip and the bilander came in time. The ſhip had immediately on its arrival at Hiaqui, been ſupplied by the miſſionaries; and putting to ſea, came three times in ſight of California, without being able to reach the ſhore; and was three times obliged, amidſt very ſtormy weather, to put back to the river Hiaqui. The third time they got intelligence by ſome pearl boats, that the admiral was ſailing for cape San Lucas, on which they endeavoured to meet him. From this cape, the admiral reſolved to return to Cinaloa for a ſupply of proviſions, and to attempt a ſecond landing in a higher latitude, where he was informed the country was more convenient, and the Indians of a more friendly diſpoſition.

Accordingly, having in Hiaqui harbour ſold a great part of his effects, and even pledged his plate and furniture, in order to purchaſe ſtores, he ſailed again for California; and, on the 6th of October, came to an anchor in twenty-ſix degrees and half latitude, in a large bay, which he called San Bruno, being the anniverſary feſtival of that ſaint. The very ſame day, with three miſſionaries and ſome ſoldiers, he went in queſt of water, which he found at the diſtance of half a league; ſo that the ſituation being approved of, and the Indians tractable and friendly, on the third day a garriſon was formed, and immediately a church with ſome cottages were began. He now diſpatched the ſmaller ſhips for proviſions and letters to the viceroy, giving him an account of his proceedings, and deſiring a ſupply of money, both which he obtained, and again took poſſeſſion of California, in his majeſty's name, with the uſual ceremonies, an act often performed with more pomp than advantage. After theſe ceremonies, and being attended by the fathers, he made his firſt progreſs up the country, in December of the ſame year 1683, to beyond twenty-five degrees weſtward; treating all the Indlans as he met, with the utmoſt kindneſs, and inviting them to the garriſon. The ſecond progreſs was towards the ſame quarter, but with a deſign of reaching the oppoſite coaſt on the South ſea. After three days travelling, they came to a mountain which they were obliged to aſcend on foot, with great fatigue. On the ſummit they found a wide plain, ſeveral leagues in extent, and on it ſome rancherias, which had been forſaken by the natives. Near a pond of rain water, they were met by ſeventeen Indians, who, in token of their peaceable intentions, threw away their bows and arrows. The miſſionaries, by ſigns and ſome words they had already learned of their language, paid them their compliments, and invited them to the garriſon of San Bruno. They enquired of them the diſtance to the South ſea; and were informed that not far off was a ſmall river running into it. But though they went forward, along a very rugged country, from mountain to mountain, they were ſtill diſappointed with regard to diſcovering the South ſea; and were obliged to return to the garriſon, after a very toilſome journey of fifty leagues, by unavoidable circumvolutions, in a country full of precipices, and without any known road. For the diſtance betwixt ſea and ſea, in a direct line, is not leſs than 50 leagues.

In theſe and the like landings and progreſſes, the admiral ſpent above a year, the fathers in the mean time, diligently applied themſelves to learn the two languages which are ſpoken in that country. When they had attained a tolerable knowledge of theſe tongues, they tranſlated into it the chief articles of the chriſtian doctrine. But what put them to the greateſt trouble in this, was, to find ſome Indian words to expreſs this article, he aroſe from the dead. Here it was neceſſary to have recourſe to invention,

vention, of which neceſſity is juſtly ſtiled the mother: and according to father Kino's letter, to his maſter father Henry Scherer, it was the following. They took ſome flies, and in preſence of the Indians, put them under water that they were thought to be dead: but on placing them among ſome aſhes, and expoſing them to the rays of the ſun, the vital faculties of the flies were recovered, and ſoon came again to life. The Indians in a rapture of aſtoniſhment, cried out, Ibimuhueite! Ibimuhueite! Theſe words the fathers wrote down, and making further enquiry, they applied it to import the reſurrection of our Saviour, and of the dead, being in want of a better word for explaining our myſteries to theſe people. Having now drawn up a catechiſm, they applied themſelves entirely to the inſtruction of the Indians, eſpecially the children. They ſoon, by the help of ſeveral inventives, learned the heads of our doctrine, in their own language, and in Spaniſh; and every day kneeling, and with their hands joined, they repeated it in the form of a prayer with the fathers. From being ſcholars, they became the maſters of their parents and relations; and though of an age, naturally improper for ſuch an office, they proved ſucceſsful catechiſts. By theſe means, ſeconded with the indefatigable labour of the fathers, they had the pleaſure of ſeeing in that year above four hundred adult catechumens prepared for baptiſm. But the fathers, who were always fearful for the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, did not baptize any, unleſs at the point of death. Thirteen according to father Kino, were baptized in this manner, three of whom recovered; and with the conſent of their parents, the admiral brought them away, and delivered them to the biſhop of Guadalaxara, who received them with the greateſt marks of affection. The fathers were pleaſing themſelves with the docility of the Indians, and their willingneſs to embrace the tenets of the chriſtian religion; but the admiral was far from finding the ſame ſatisfaction in the country, of which he had received ſuch promiſing information; for experience had convinced him, that it would be very difficult to maintain a ſettlement in that place. He therefore gave orders to the captain of his leaſt ſhip, to take a careful ſurvey of the coaſt on the north ſide, in order to find out a more convenient ſituation; accordingly he went among the Indians, who dive for pearls, the placeres or pearl beds being much ſcarcer in this place than in la Paz, uſing all poſſible expedition in the execution of theſe orders; both on account of the diſpatches, received from the viceroy, requiring an account of his proceedings, and likewiſe a repreſentation delivered to him by the ſoldiers, and ſigned with their names, ſetting forth their hardſhips and ſickneſſes, occaſioned by the bad quality of the ſoil and climate. In order to comply with both, he called a council of the officers and miſſionaries, and requiring that each ſhould ſign his opinion, that of the majority of the officers, was for quitting the garriſon of San Bruno, as an unwholſome barren country. The fathers moved for ſtaying ſome time: for no rain having fallen for eighteen months, a competent judgment could not be formed of the country, from the time they had continued there. The admiral to theſe opinions, added his own, informing the viceroy likewiſe, of the inſtructions he had given to the Capitana or ſmaller ſhip; and of what he intended to do. The ſick were put on board a ſhip, and with them he ſailed to the coaſt of Cinaloa, ſending away a packet to the viceroy; and having again furniſhed his ſhip, went on the diſcovery of pearl beds; till in September 1685, being in the harbour of San Ignatio, he received the reſolution, taken by the viceroy in a general council, by which he was ordered, that after ſuch vaſt expences, he ſhould not attempt a ſettlement in any other part; only taking care, if poſſible, to maintain what he had conquered, and wait the future reſult of the diſcoveries. The Capitana, not finding what ſhe was ſent in queſt of, after great difficulties returned to San Bruno. Not long before the admiral had put into this harbour, but in a few days, the garriſon wanting proviſions, and the obſtructions to that ſettlement, of which he was ſo very deſirous, being unſurmountable, he embarked all the people, together with the miſſionaries and the three Californians, and ſailed to the harbour of Matanchel, whence he ſent advice to the viceroy of his arrival. Here he received orders to put to ſea immediately, and take under his convoy the Philippine ſhip, which he fortunately met with two or three days after he had ſailed, and brought her ſafe to Acapulco, to the diſappointment of ſome Dutch privateers, who were waiting for her along the coaſt of Navidad.

Hence he want to Mexico, where he gave an account to the viceroy, and the miniſtry, of the ſeveral obſervations, diſcoveries, and incidents, in his fruitleſs expedition; in which, beſides the waſte of three years, were expended two hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns of the royal revenue. The viceroy gave orders for the examination of the whole affair, in a general council; and after a mature deliberation on all the difficulties, it was reſolved, that the conqueſt of California was impracticable by thoſe means; that however, the reduction of

it,

it, ſhould be recommended to the ſociety of the jeſuits, with an offer of the neceſſary ſums, to be paid annually out of the king's treaſury. Accordingly in the council, held on the 11th of April 1686, the treaſurer of the audience, admiral Otondo and father Kino, were ordered to make an eſtimate of the neceſſary ſums, and that the ſaid treaſurer, ſhould go with the propoſal to father Daniel Angelo Marras, vice-provincial; father Bernabé de Soto the provincial, being abſent on the viſitation. The treaſurer delivered a draught of the offer to father Marres, who with the unanimous opinion of the chapter, convened on the occaſion, anſwered, that the ſociety entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the honour done them in that confidence; but ſaw very great inconveniences in taking upon themſelves the temporal concerns of ſuch a conqueſt in the manner expreſſed; yet ſhould be always ready to ſupply neceſſary miſſionaries, as they had done in the preceding expeditions. The treaſurer, purſuant to freſh orders from the council, repeated his inſtances; but the ſociety could not be brought to recede from their firſt opinion.

On this diſappointment, the royal council were ſo perſuaded of the impracticability of the conqueſt by the uſual means, that the petition of captain Franciſco Luzenilla, for licence to attempt it at his own expence, with a ſmall allowance from the king, was rejected. However, the difficulty added new ardour and deſire for the enterpriſe. The ſame political and religious motives ſubſiſted, and freſh orders and proofs of the king's pleaſure, came over from Spain. Thus after an exact calculation of the expences, it was found that it would require no leſs than thirty thouſand crowns per annum, the treaſurer affirming in his memorial of the 14th of March, that this expence was unavoidable, the calculation having been made with all poſſible frugality. Accordingly the ſaid ſum was ordered to be advanced to admiral Otondo, to enable him to make a third attempt. Thus the concerns of the conqueſt were now as it were received, when in the very week that the monies were to be paid to the admiral, letters came from Spain, in which the king required five hundred thouſand crowns, though raiſed by loan, together with a ſchedule of the 22d of December 1685, directing that the enterpriſe to California ſhould be laid aſide, during the continuance of the war with the Tarrahumares. Thus a period was put to the expedition, and though the revolt of the Tarrahumares was ſoon after quelled, yet the conqueſt of California at the royal expence, was no longer thought of. Indeed in the year 1694, a licence was granted to captain Franciſco Itamarra, for making a deſcent at his own expence. But he had no better ſucceſs than his predeceſſors, returning with an account, that the Indians of San Bruno and their neighbours, were very urgent for the miſſionaries to be ſent them according to promiſe. Such was the iſſue of ſo many expeditions, carried on at ſuch an immenſe charge, for the ſpace of near two centuries.

A
NATURAL and CIVIL
HISTORY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

PART III.

Reduction of CALIFORNIA by the jeſuits and their tranſactions, to the preſent time.

SECT. I.

Firſt entrance into CALIFORNIA, by father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra, in the year 1697.

WE have ſeen the ardour with which the conqueſt of California was proſecuted, for the ſpace of two centuries, ſince the diſcovery and conqueſt of New Spain; and at the ſame time, the very little advantage of ſuch a ſeries of expeditions. The great conqueror Hernand Cortes, ſeveral times employed on it, the whole force he could raiſe. His example ſtimulated many private perſons; governors, admirals, and viceroys, embarked in it on their own bottoms. At laſt the kings of Spain themſelves, took the ſcheme into their hands; yet all the reſult of ſuch vaſt expences, ſuch powerful efforts, was, that the reduction of California was given over as unſurmountable: and ſo indeed it was by the means made uſe of by men, but not by thoſe which God had choſen. Arms and power were the means on which men relied, for the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. But it was the will of heaven, that this triumph ſhould be owing to the meekneſs and courteſy of his miniſters, to the humiliation of his croſs, and the power of his word. God ſeemed only to wait till human force acknowledged its weakneſs, to diſplay the ſtrength of his Almighty arm, confounding the pride of the world, by means of the weakeſt inſtruments; poſſibly God was not pleaſed to countenance the firſt enterpriſes on California, whilſt the capital object was temporal good, and religion only a ſecondary motive. And on the contrary, he proſpered the deſign, when his kingdom was the motive, and the advantage of the monarchy only conſidered as a probable conſequence.

The conferences at Mexico being broke up, and the door ſhut by the king's order, to all further enterpriſes on California, the fathers who had accompanied admiral Otondo, were diſtributed to other miſſions: yet continued full of ſolicitude for reaping that plentiful harveſt, which they had ſeen in California, ſo ripe for the ſickle of the goſpel; particularly father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, had the conqueſt very much at heart, and it did not appear ſo difficult to him as to others. This father, purſuant to a vow made at the point of death, to ſaint Francis Xavier, had quitted the profeſſorſhip of mathematicks at Ingoldſtadt, where he was honoured with particular favours from the electoral houſe of Bavaria, and come over to America. As he had propoſed to himſelf this holy apoſtle for his model, he imitated his virtues, and all the other qualities of his ſeraphick mind. He had a heart equal to the greateſt enterpriſes: his zeal was indefatigable, the advancement of his faith was his chief thought: his capacity accommodated itſelf to all circumſtances; and in all, he found reſources beyond the reach of others. His conſummate knowledge in the uſeful ſciences, as they animated him to undertake, ſo they were of ſpecial uſe to him in the execution. His liberality and ſweetneſs of manners, procured him an abſolute aſcendancy over the hearts of all; even the moſt ſavage were never known to revolt againſt his perſuaſions, which he delivered with ſuch a mildneſs and cordiality, as gained him their entire confidence. It was a man like this, which the conqueſt of California required. However, though it was undertaken by his advice, and he ſupported it, yet he was not the perſon choſen by heaven; but another who very nearly reſembled him in his fine qualities. Father Kino deſired to be appointed for the miſſions of Sonora, hoping from that province, as contiguous to California, the gulf of which waſhes its coaſts, to accompliſh an entrance into it, and in proceſs of time, the reduction of it.

With this view, he left Mexico the 20th of October 1686, and travelled all over the country, to inflame the minds of the miſſionary jeſuits, with the moſt ardent deſires of ſeconding ſo glorious an enterpriſe. He himſelf had aſked permiſſion of the father general for making this journey; and father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, and father Franciſco Xavier Saeta, who a little after had the happineſs of ſuffering martyrdom at Pimeria, had alſo requeſted the like indulgence. About this time father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, who for many years had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a miſſionary, in the province of Tarrahumara, returned as viſitant to the miſſions of Cinaloa and Sonora. In this laſt government, he was met by father Kino, on his entrance into the miſſions of Pimeria, adjacent to the pagan Apaches, which father Kino was enlarging with a ſucceſs equal to his aſſiduity and labour. There could not be a more proper perſon than father Salva-Tierra, who came nearer to the ardour, ſweetneſs, and benevolent diſpoſition of father Kino; and he was the perſon whom God had choſen to be the apoſtle of California; and had furniſhed him in a very extraordinary manner, with all the talents neceſſary for ſuch a difficult ſervice. He was of a ſtrong robuſt conſtitution, bearing fatigue and hardſhips without affecting his health. His judgment and prudence had recommended him to the unanimous approbation of the ſociety, for the high poſt he had enjoyed. He was of the moſt endearing gentleneſs in diſcourſe; had all the intrepidity and reſolution, requiſite for the beginning and conducting the greateſt enterpriſes. The opinion of his wiſdom and intellectual talents, had gained him univerſal eſteem, which was heightened to veneration by his chriſtian virtues. Such was the man whom heaven had formed a choſen veſſel, for introducing chriſtianity among the unhappy Californians. During the viſitation, father Kino gave him a full account of the good diſpoſition of the Californians, for receiving the faith: and of the means for giving a happy iſſue to an enterpriſe, in which ſuch efforts had been made during two centuries. This they talked of when they were travelling: it was the ſubject both of their publick and private converſations; and father Kino writes "that the pious zeal of father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra was ſo moving, that he immediately determined to endeavour by all poſſible methods, to obtain admiſſion into California.

And this was accordingly accompliſhed by father Salva-Tierra in the following year, though for the ſake of brevity, we ſhall omit the particulars of the extraordinary ſervices performed by him, for accompliſhing this ſcheme. The ſociety oppoſed the undertaking, and three provincials, Ambroſio, Oddon, Diego Almonacir, and Juan de Palacios, repeatedly refuſed him a licence, looking upon the enterpriſe as impoſſible. The audience of Guadalaxara, and the viceroy, alſo oppoſed it, the treaſury being empty, and the affair of Otondo ſtill recent. In fine, it was oppoſed by the court of Madrid, where father Salva-Tierra's repreſentations to his majeſty, in his council of the Indies made no impreſſion. In ſhort, all the world declared againſt the deſigns of this religious man. At laſt, however, the difficulty ſeemed to be removed, and the fathers Salva-Tierra and Kino, came to Mexico on the 8th of January 1696; one from Guadalaxara, and the other from the center of the province of Pimeria, above five hundred leagues diſtant from the capital. Both came to ſolicit permiſſion for going to California, and father Kino to deſire the addition of ſome miſſionaries, to aſſiſt him in ſowing the ſeed of the goſpel, in the many nations he had viſited in that remote province. They made the moſt ſtrenuous repreſentations, for licence and proper aſſiſtance in their enterpriſe to California: but it was all in vain, and they found themſelves obliged to return, one to his miſſion of los Pinas, and the other to the care of his novices at Tepotzotlan.

But father Salva-Tierra, was not intimidated by theſe powerful oppoſitions, he a ſecond time petitioned for the father general's licence, to undertake this miſſion. That office was then filled by father Tyrſo Gonzales de Santa-Ella, whoſe learning and writings had done honour to the univerſity of Salamanca, and his miſſions, which comprehended the whole kingdom, had been attended with amazing benefits. In the converſion of the Moors, he had laboured with an unparalleled ſucceſs: and animated by the ſame ardour, he promoted the miſſions to the utmoſt of his power, and came to America very ſeaſonably to relieve father Salva-Tierra from any farther labour, if the conqueſt of California, was judged practicable at Mexico. This licence arrived ſoon after the father had left Mexico, where after a long oppoſition, his ſuperiors allowed him to make new preparatives for the enterpriſe. The audience of Guadalaxara, now ſaw things in a very different light; and eſpouſed his deſigns with ſuch vigour, that the ſolicitor don Joſeph de Miranda Villizan, a man of uncommon parts, became his moſt active friend, aſſiſting the father in every thing, and acted as his faithful correſpondent. This ſolicitor on the 16th of July 1696, ſtrongly petitioned the audience, proving that the expedition deſerved their encouragement; accordingly it was ordered that a letter ſhould be ſent to the viceroy, recommending it to his protection. The difficulties however, which ſtill remained very great, but not able to were ſtagger father Salva-Tierra.

In the beginning of the year 1697, father Salva-Tierra came from Tepotzotlan to Mexico, being now authorized by the ſuperiors of his order, to raiſe collections for beginning a work, in which the fleets and treaſures of kings had failed. Here he met with a valuable companion in father Juan Ugarte, profeſſor of philoſophy in that college. This father likewiſe had the conqueſt very much at heart, and among other talents, he was poſſeſſed of a ſingular addreſs, in the management of temporal affairs, and bringing them to the moſt happy iſſue. But as this conqueſt of Çalifornia was not to be undertaken, without having in Mexico an agent by whoſe prudence and attention, any ſudden difficulties might be removed, and who would take care to collect and ſend ſuccours from time to time, to the perſons engaged in it; father Ugarte undertook this office, and performed it with ſuch ſedulity, that though he reſided at Mexico, he inſured the ſucceſs of father Salva-Tierra's expedition to California.

Soon after, don Alonſo Davalos, count de Mira Vallez, and don Mattheo Fernandez de la Cruz, marquis de Buena-Viſta, promiſed the ſociety two thouſand dollars, and the liberalities of other benefactors, amounted to fifteen thouſand. Don Pedro de la Sierpe, treaſurer of Acapulco, offered to lend a galliot for carrying them over, adding a long boat, as a gift. But as the conqueſt was ſtill on no ſure foundation for want of funds to produce an annual revenue, the congregation of the Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores of Mexico, founded in the college of ſaint Peter and ſaint Paul, gave eight thouſand dollars, as a fund for one miſſion, to which they afterwards added two thouſand more, an annual income of five hundred dollars being computed the loweſt that could be allowed each miſſion, as lying in a country, which beſides being at a great diſtance, and on the ſide of the ſea, was in want of every thing. Further don Juan Cavalero y Ozio, prieſt of the city of Queretaro, commiſſary of the inquiſition, a man of great wealth, but of equal munificence, ſubſcribed twenty thouſand crowns, as a fund for two other miſſions, and aſſured father Salva-Tierra that he would honour whatever bills came to his hands ſigned by him. Such promiſing beginnings, animated the fathers to apply for a licence from the viceroy, count de Motezuma, a nobleman whoſe memory New-Spain ought never to forget. The father provincial Juan de Palacios, addreſſed him in a very elegant and judicious memorial. He met with great difficulties in the royal council, till after various repreſentations, as nothing was here aſked of the king, and that by the treaſury books, admiral Otondo's expedition appeared to have coſt his majeſty two hundred and twenty-five thouſand four hundred dollars, the licence was granted on the 5th of February 1627. The warrants were delivered to father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, permitting and impowering himſelf and father Kino to make an entrance into California on two conditions: firſt not to waſte any thing belonging to the crown, or draw on the treaſury, without an expreſs order from the king; and the ſecond to take poſſeſſion of the country in his majeſty's name. The powers granted to them were the enliſting of ſoldiers at their own expence for their guard, appointing a commander, diſcharging him and the ſoldiers, notifying it at the ſame time to the viceroy: likewiſe that theſe ſhould enjoy the uſual immunities, and their ſervices be accounted the ſame as in time of war: and laſtly that the fathers might appoint proper perſons for the adminiſtration of juſtice in the new conqueſt. Father Salva-Tierra now haſtened his departure for Mexico, and leaving to father Ugarte the care of collecting and laying out the contributions, and ſending veſſels from Acapulco to the river Hiaqui; on the 7th of February he left that capital, taking with him the catechiſm and papers in father Copart's language; and on his arrival at Tepotzotlan, took his leave of his novices in the moſt pathetic manner, there having always been the moſt tender and mutual affection between them. At Guadalaxara he conferred with the audience and his liberal friend the ſollicitor Miranda, concerning his expedition. From hence he went on to Cinaloa; where he gave the neceſſary orders; and uſed the utmoſt diligence, though unhappily in vain, to find out the two chriſtian Californians who had been brought over by the admiral Otondo. They were ſtill living; but concealed by the execrable avarice of a wretch who employed them in his farm: an incident of the moſt melancholy conſequences. Here he ſent for his choſen companion father Kino; but in the mean time took a journey for viſiting his former reſidence in the mountains of Chinapas. He went up as far as Sierra of the Tarahumara, and as he was returning, pleaſed with the condition in which he had found theſe infant communities, was informed of the inſurrection of the Indians of high Tarahumara. Immediately his mind was alarmed with the danger of the miſſionaries Nicolas de Prado, and Martin de Vinavides, under whoſe care this country then was, and who had no other defence than the fidelity of their new converts: he ventured to aſſiſt them, and with them went through a thouſand dangers from the hands of the apoſtates, till the Spaniards of the neighbouring garriſon came to their aſſiſtance. Here he ſtaid till the middle of Auguſt; and in his return received advice that the galliot had been at Hiaqui for ſome time. He therefore quickened his march, and at Hiaqui was informed by captain Juan Antonio Romero de la Sierpe, that he had been ſeven months in his paſſage amidſt variety of dangers and bad weather, rocks, and ſcarcity of proviſions; as likewiſe from the diſcontent of the ſhip's company, when they came to know that they were not going to California to fiſh for pearls, as they had imagined. He ſtaid in this port two months, both to procure a freſh ſupply of proviſions, thoſe taken on board in New Galicia not being fit for uſe, wait for ſome ſoldiers which had been offered him, and likewiſe for father Kino whom he had ſent for. The ſoldiers were hindered from coming by the inſurrection of the Tarahumares. Father Kino immediately ſet out: but to his extreme concern was detained by father Horatio Police, the viſitor, and don Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruſat, chief magiſtrate of the province of Sonora, through fear that the like rebellion, would in ſo critical a juncture, ſpread itſelf among other nations. Father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, was therefore nominated in his room: but father Salva-Tierra, apprehending new delays, determined to go to California without waiting for him. Accordingly he left the harbour of Hiaqui on the 10th of October, 1697. Father Salva-Tierra's military attendants, were as peculiarly devoted to this enterpriſe, and conſiſted of five ſoldiers with their commander; don Luis de Torres Tortolero, enſign, and firſt captain of the garriſon of California, don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, who afterwards was many years a captain, Bartholomé de Robles Figueroa, a Creol of the province of Guadalaxara, Juan Caravana, a Malteſe ſailor, Nicolas Marques, a Sicilian ſailor, and Juan, a Peruvian mulatto: beſides whom were three Indians, Franciſco de Tepahui of Cinaloa, Alonſo de Guayavas of Sonora, and Sebaſtian of Guadalaxara.

With this ſmall force the father ſailed for California on the day above mentioned, in the galliot, taking with him the long boat, which ſoon became neceſſary; for the galliot had not got above half a league from the harbour, before a furious ſquall of wind came on and drove her aſhore, where ſhe ſtuck faſt in the ſand, and to all appearance there was little hope of ſafety. However by the help of the long boat, and the ſkill of the ſeamen, ſhe floated with the flood, and was ſoon out of danger. On the 3d day they made California; but the long boat being ſeparated from the galliot, and at a loſs what coaſt to ſteer, they touched at Conception bay, 30 leagues northward of Loretto. They alſo took a view of the bay of San Bruno, where Otondo had pitched his camp: but this was not approved of, as being far from the ſea, and affording only brackiſh water, eſpecially as Juan Antonio Romere de la Sierpe, captain of the galliot, had offered to ſhew them a much more convenient place, which he had ſeen in Otondo's expedition. This was in the bay of San Dionyſio ten leagues ſouth of San Bruno, where the coaſt forms itſelf into the ſhape of a half moon near five leagues from point to point. The country near it was covered with trees and other verdure, with a ſufficiency of freſh water not far from the ſhore. Here they arrived and landed on Saturday the 19th of October, and were received with great joy and affection by above 50 Indians of the neighbouring rancheria, and others from San Bruno. A convenient ſpot near a watering place, about a league and a half from the ſhore was choſen for an encampment: the proviſions and animals were landed together with the baggage. The father, though the head of the expedition, being the firſt to load his ſhoulders. The barracks for the little garriſon were now built, and a line of circumvallation thrown up: in the center a tent was pitched for a temporary chapel. Before it was erected a crucifix with a garland of flowers; and every thing being diſpoſed in the beſt manner poſſible, the image of our lady of Loretto, as patroneſs of the conqueſt, was brought in proceſſion from the galliot, and placed with proper ſolemnity. Immediately afterwards, on the 25th of October, of the ſame year 1697, poſſeſſion was taken of the country in his majeſty's name. Father Salva-Tierra now applied himſelf to learn the language and inſtruct the Indians, appointing particular hours for this exerciſe, when the Indians came and repeated the prayers, and parts of the catechiſm which he read to them by means of father Copart's papers, after which, the father uſed to liſten, and write down their diſcourſe in order to learn the language. He talked to them and the Indians, and by that means corrected his miſtakes in the words and pronunciation. He uſed ſeveral contrivances for the more ſpeedy inſtructing the boys in the Spaniſh, though not without being laughed at by them, and the adults, for his wrong pronunciation; and their banters are attended with no little art and pleaſantry. When all was over, he uſed to diſtribute with his own hands, among thoſe who attended the exerciſes, an allowance of pozoli or boiled maiz. Theſe particulars may poſſibly appear trifles not worth mentioning; but let me entreat the reader to try their value in the balance of reaſon. Let him reflect what an agreeable ſight it muſt be even in the eyes of the divine Being himſelf, to ſee a man who might have acquired a large fortune by a ſecular employment, and had even lived in quiet and eſteem within the order he had choſen, voluntarily baniſh himſelf from his country and relations,

tions, to viſit America; and when there, reſign his employments, and leave a tranquil life for diſappointments and fatigues: to live among ſavages, amidſt diſtreſs and continual dangers of death, without any other motive, than to employ himſelf in ſuch low and obſcure actions, for the converſion of the Indians. At leaſt, let every one aſk himſelf, whether any worldly intereſt whatever, could induce him to ſuch a reſolution? and he will eaſily be convinced of the importance and dignity which theſe actions, ſo contemptible in the eyes of mortals, receive from the ſublimity of the motives.

SECT. II.

Various incidents till the entrance of father Francis Maria Piccolo, into CALIFORNIA.

This ſmall garriſon being now ſomething ſettled, father Salva-Tierra ſent the galliot to the river Hiaqui, to bring father Piccolo with ſome ſoldiers and proviſions, having ordered the captain to look out by the way for the long-boat. The galliot left San Dionyſio, on the 26th day of October, and in the mean time, the active father remained in the garriſon, performing the duty, not only of a miſſionary and father of a family, but likewiſe of officer and ſoldier; iſſuing proper orders, and at the moſt inconvenient hours ſtanding centinel, the neceſſity of which ſoon appeared: for the Indians liking the pozoli, or boiled maiz, and deſiring that a larger allowance than uſual, which was half a buſhel a day, ſhould be given them, though they did not come to the catechiſm, broke out into complaints, and though every gentle method was tried to ſatisfy them, they proceeded to pilfer among the ſacks. Thus there was a neceſſity for keeping them from the garriſon, and accordingly ſome precautions were taken. This inflamed at once their appetite and reſentment: and at length depending on the great ſuperiority of their numbers, determined to make themſelves maſters of the whole, by killing the father and the Spaniards. Some of better diſpoſitions, reproached their countrymen for ſuch ingratitude and brutality, but this had little effect. However, before breaking out into an open war, they fell upon the few goats and cattle which had been brought over, whilſt they were feeding in a kind of a cloſe, which had been made for that purpoſe, and by their motions, ſeemed to deſign an aſſault on the camp. The father, though acquainted with their fickleneſs, did not diſcontinue his uſual exerciſes, and the diſtribution of the pozoli. The night of the 31ſt of October had been pitched on for a general aſſault. This reſolution the father was informed of by an Indian caſique, who, being ſick, had requeſted to be baptized, and was the firſt who received that ſacred initiation. The father could not help being under great apprehenſions, though he hoped every thing from providence, who he knew, in ſome extraordinary manner, would work his deliverance. At midnight they heard a muſket ſhot, which was anſwered by another from the camp. Immediately after, a paderero was fired from the ſea. The camp alſo fired another, which had been left by the captain of the galliot. On which, the Indians of the neareſt rancheria and others, who were coming to the attack, were ſeized with a terrible pannick: for our men thinking it was the long-boat that was loſt, called out by means of ſome Indian friend, who was among them, that they were Spaniards coming to their aſſiſtance. In the morning, they ſaw a veſſel near the neighbouring iſland del Carmen, but inſtead of ſtanding in for the ſhore, made for the iſland of Coronados: on which, a ſeaman was ſent off on a bargilla or ſmall raft, who brought a note from don Juan, the captain of the galliot, the contents of which was, that having been on the other coaſt, ſix leagues to leeward of Hiaqui, the bad weather had obliged him to come over to the coaſt of California, to get to windward, for continuing his voyage.

The ſhip, which checked the Indians, being out of ſight, they reaſſumed their former bloody purpoſes, inviting, as to a banquet of ſlaughter and plunder, moſt of the branches of their nation, that called the Lauretana, Liyues, Monquis, Didyus, Laymones, and ſome of the ſouthern Edues. Their inſolences occaſioned the Spaniards to come to ſome ſkirmiſhes with them, in which they did them as little damage as poſſible, but at the ſame time took care to make them feel how dangerous any formal attempt againſt them, would prove. Father Salva-Tierra calmly endeavoured to prevent any farther cauſe of complaint, not forgetting the neceſſary precautions againſt any diſagreeable event. But in this uncertain ſtate of diffidence, a ſmall incident occaſioned a declared rupture. One night in November, the Laymones, taking the advantage of the darkneſs, came to the camp, looſened the only horſe which father Salva-Tierra had been able to bring with him, and carried it off to eat. The creature being miſſing in the morning, Eſtevan Rodrigues and Juan Caravana, boldly offered to tract it, till they diſcovered the enemy. It ſeemed raſhneſs, as indeed it was, for two men to go alone in an unknown country, and alſo that of an enemy, in order to puniſh them. On the other hand, beſides the neceſſity, if poſſible,

ſible, of recovering the horſe, it was a prudent meaſure, the Indians, as I have before obſerved, always grow diſpirited, when they find they are oppoſed by a courageous enemy: and where they perceive any ſigns of fear, they little doubt of the victory. Some Indians, who were friends, had come to the camp, and admiring this brave reſolution of the two men, and fired with indignation at the injury done by their countrymen, offered to accompany them. Accordingly, they all marched up the country, and arriving at the ſummit of a mountain two leagues diſtant, they perceived on the ſkirts of it, the gang of robbers ſkining the horſe: but at the ſight of the Spaniards and their party, they betook themſelves to flight, and left it whole. The ſoldiers having diſtributed the horſe among their Indian friends, who received it as the greateſt dainty, they all returned to the camp. After this, the whole thoughts of the malecontents were turned, on making diſpoſitions for aſſaulting us at a proper opportunity, though ſuch was the ſtupidity of the greateſt part of them, that they continued coming to the camp under pretence of being catechiſed, to eat the pozoli, truſting in the father's patience, who in vain increaſed his diligence and kindneſs to them. The fatigue of being obliged to keep continual watch, became intolerable to ſuch a handful of men. In the day they were expoſed to the parching heat of the ſun, and in the night to the rains, which were heavy, no ſhelter againſt them having been provided in New Spain, from a belief founded on the continual drought during Otondo's entrance, that it never rained in California.

At length the inſolence and hatred of the Indians increaſing every day, and their wicked deſigns being evident, from ſeveral accidents of leſs importance, on the 13th of November, being the feſtival of ſaint Staniſlaus Koſca, the Indians of the four nations or branches met, in order to ſtrike the deciſive blow.

That they might fall upon our people at a diſadvantage, ſome of them came to the camp about noon whilſt they were eating; the centinel was for keeping them off, but to no purpoſe, and one of the boldeſt cloſed with him, and took away the ſtaff, which ſerved him for a halbert. On the centinel's calling out, Tortolero run up, and wreſted the ſtaff from the Indian; an act of boldneſs, which ſtruck the company ſo, that they retreated; but ſoon after, our men were alarmed with the outcries of the Indian Alonſo de Tepahui, who kept the few hogs and ſheep, in a valley overgrown with ruſhes and flags, and who was aſſaulted by another party; however by immediate aſſiſtance,

ſiſtance, the creatures were brought ſafe within the camp. This attempt was ſucceeded by a ſhower of ſtones and arrows from five hundred Indians, who came up divided into four companies, that they might attack the camp on each ſide. One only of the friendly Californians remained within the camp, where the little garriſon, conſiſting only of ten men, was obliged to divide itſelf on all the four ſides. Tortolero, who acted as captain, choſe the moſt dangerous poſt, which faced the lower part of the valley, together with Bartholomew de Robles; the oppoſite ſide was defended by the Indian Alonſo de Tepahui, and Juan the mulatto of Peru; on that ſide which looked toward the ſhore, ſtood the Indian Marcos Guazavas, a man of great boldneſs and activity. On the remaining ſide was Eſtevan Rodrigues a Portugueſe. Juan Caravana, the Malteſe, who had ſerved in the Philippine ſhip, had the care of the paderero, which was placed at the gate of the camp; and not far from him was poſted Nicholas Marques a Sicilian, who likewiſe had ſome knowledge of gunnery, that he might be nearer at hand to aſſiſt him. The father and Sebaſtian his Indian, remained in the center, in order to go where there ſhould be moſt occaſion. And now the companies of the four nations, began to advance with dreadful ſhoutings and outcries, toward the four ſides; but they were repulſed by the extraordinary vigour of our men, and with little loſs to the aſſailants. Father Salva-Tierra having deſired that they might not be fired upon ſo as to be killed, till matters came to the laſt extremity, they ſeveral times in a confuſed manner, renewed the action for two hours, without gaining any advantage, throwing ſtones and earth againſt the two ſides of the trench; but unexpectedly the whole body retreated and the action ceaſed. Our people imagined that the enemy had repented of their injurious treatment, or gave over all hopes of gaining any advantage; but half an hour had not paſſed, when they returned to the aſſault with greater fury, and every company reinforced with freſh men. Now it was that our men, though they had performed prodigies of valour, found themſelves ſo cloſely preſſed, that the captain ordered Caravana to diſcharge the paderero, but this which was the chief hope for terrifying, by deſtroying the Indians, burſt to pieces and flew about the camp, though providentially with no other damage, than knocking down the Malteſe, ſo that for ſome time he remained ſenſeleſs; and likewiſe without doing any execution among the Indians. This misfortune inſpired the Indians with freſh courage, and the company againſt which it had been leveled ſent notice to the others, that ſince the paderero did not kill, they might be ſure that the little pieces would not. This they were perſuaded of, as our people, by order of the father, fired in the air. The attack cloſed ſo on every ſide, that the captain thought it high time to give orders for firing on the enemy; yet this was, what even at ſuch an extremity father Salva-Tierra could not bear, that running towards the moſt forward entreating, urging, threatening them that they would retire, and not ruſh on certain death. He was anſwered by three arrows ſhot at him, but which miſſed him. On this he withdrew, and the Indians on every ſide began to drop: though the dead and wounded amounted to no great number, as terrified with the effects of the firing, they ſoon betook themſelves precipitately to their rancherias.

However the prudent apprehenſions of a ſecond attack, would not admit of our men to abate of their vigilance. But they ſoon perceived ſome meſſengers of peace approaching: the firſt was the Indian caſique, who was permitted to come within the camp, and who with tears aſſured our men, that it was thoſe of the neighbouring rancheria under him, who had firſt formed the plot, and on account of the paucity of their numbers, had ſpirited up the other nations;

tons; adding, that thoſe being irritated by the death of their companions, were for revenging them: but that both the one and the other, ſincerely repented of their attempt. A little while after came the women with their children, mediating a peace as is the cuſtom of the country. They ſat down weeping at the gate of the camp with a thouſand promiſes of amendment, and offering to give up their children as hoſtages for the performance. Father Salva-Tierra heard them with his uſual mildneſs, ſhewing them the wickedneſs of the procedure; and if their huſbands would behave better, promiſed them peace, an amneſty, and a forgetfulneſs of all that was paſt: he alſo diſtributed among them ſeveral little preſents, and to remove any miſtruſt they might have, he took one of the children in hoſtage, and thus they returned in high ſpirits to the rancherias. At night ſolemn thanks were returned to God, his moſt holy mother and St. Staniſlaus, for his manifold favours. Indeed without a ſignal aſſiſtance of the God of armies, it ſeems impoſſible, that ten men got together from ſeveral parts, could have withſtood the furious aſſaults of 500 ſavages. It was alſo obſerved, that moſt of the arrows ſtuck in the pedeſtal of the croſs, whilſt both it and the tent, which ſerved for the chapel, were untouched. When enquiry was made about the wounds received, it appeared, that of the ten amidſt ſuch ſhowers of arrows only two had received any wounds: theſe were Tortolero and Figueroa; but their wounds were ſo ſlight as not to hinder their fighting: and they concealed them from the Indians, waiting till it was night before they made their caſe known to their companions. If there was here cauſe for pity, was there not likewiſe much greater for wonder. They adored the holy croſs as the ſtandard of faith; they ſung ave to our lady as their captain, and unanimouſly determined to remain in that country; though as they apprehended the long-boat ſhould be loſt, and the galliot never return.

All the garriſon that night reſted, except the father Juan Maria: and in the morning as he was preparing to ſay a thankſgiving maſs to Nueſtra Sennora de Loretto, the centinel cried out a ſail, a ſail. This drew out all the company, and in a little time they perceived it to be the long-boat with proviſions coming into the bay, and firing ſeveral guns; and the general joy was increaſed by the accounts on both ſides. As to themſelves the long boat's people ſaid, that after loſing ſight of the galliot in the firſt voyage, they had for ſome time beat up and down to no purpoſe in queſt of her, till it was thought adviſeable to return to the river Hiaqui. Concerning the galliot, they ſaid ſhe would ſoon be there with the remainder of the people and proviſions; for having run a-ground on the coaſt of Hiaqui, father Diego Marquina, had on his knees entreated the Indians to aſſiſt in getting her off; which being done, ſhe went into the harbour to repair and take in her cargo. Father Salva-Tierra, elevated by the victory, and this freſh ſupply, began to ſettle every thing; he reaſſumed his exerciſe of catechiſing, maiz was now again boiled for the neighbouring Indians, and the garriſon's former friends, who one after another came to the camp with poor excuſes; after a ſhort reproof, in order to leave no ſuſpicion on them, they were all uſed very kindly, had the ſame preſents given them, and were treated with the moſt open affection. The conſpirators of the neighbouring rancheria of don Dionyſio, were ſoon obliged to come and humble themſelves at the camp; for the Monquis regreting the death of their companions in the action, had determined to fall on them as the firſt authors of their diſaſter; that now their only recourſe was to come to the Spaniards, bringing all their arms to the camp, as a ſign of friendſhip and ſubmiſſion. They aſked leave that they might ſettle near it: and they were permitted to make a ſecond trench for defending themſelves. In this neighbourhood of the camp, the Monquis did not dare to attack them, and father Juan Maria reconciled the two nations; and they both continued coming to the camp very quietly.

The father availed himſelf of this tranquillity, to conſecrate to God the firſt fruits of California; the firſt and moſt ſolemn was that of the ſick caſique before mentioned, and two days before the aſſault. He was of the territory of San Bruno; and at the time of admiral Otondo's expedition, had learned the elements of the faith, and deſired baptiſm: his deſeaſe was a dreadful cancer, the progreſs of which, God in mercy checked, till the arrival of the venerable father. The caſique delayed not a moment to come to him from San Bruno: and on his arrival at the camp, he called out, as well as he could, Senior Almirante. He was immediately admitted and kindly entertertained: he prayed by name for the fathers who had been in the country before, and likewiſe for ſome ſoldiers. He gave the greateſt ſigns of candor and fidelity, and expreſſed an extreme deſire of being baptized. As from his former knowledge he ſoon went through his previous inſtruction; and the danger of the cancer increaſing, he was baptiſed on the 11th of November. Now he no leſs earneſtly requeſted, that baptiſm ſhould be conferred on his two ſons; one of four years of age, and the other eight. The firſt was immediately received; and the ſecond, after being duly inſtructed in the articles of chriſtianity, was baptized the 14th day after the victory. The caſique's former name was Ibo, which in his language ſignifies the ſun; but he was chriſtened by that of Manuel Bernardo, and the ſon was called Bernado Manuel, in compliance with the devout deſire of their excellencies the vice-roys; that thoſe two names ſhould be given to the firſt chriſtians of California. Ibo himſelf died in the ſame month of October with great ſigns of tranquility, praiſing and adoring the unſearchable diſpenſations of God. Likewiſe two other children were baptized under the name of Juan and Pedro, in memory of don Juan Cavalero y Ozio, and don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, as diſtinguiſhing benefactors to the miſſion. The 5th baptiſm was that of an Indian wounded in the action, whom the ſoldiers by a very ſingular accident, or rather by the diſpoſition of the moſt high, found alone in a hut. Being inſtructed with the diſpatch which his danger required, he with great anxiety deſired to be baptized: and, as if that had been all he wanted, he that ſame night reſigned up his ſoul, to the inexpreſſible edification and comfort of all belonging to the camp.

Matters without being thus compoſed, the venerable father gave orders concerning the garriſon. Having aſſembled the ſoldiers, likewiſe the people of the long boat, he read to them the vice-roy's inſtructions; and informed them both of their immunities and privileges, and likewiſe their ſeveral duties and obligations. He nominated don Luis de Torres Tortolero, captain, and other inferior officers, and regulated the diſtribution of devotional exerciſes and works; and laſtly gave notice, that on the following Saturday, they ſhould all meet to hear an example, and an exhortation to devotion, in imitation of the virtues of the moſt holy Mary, as likewiſe on all future ſabbaths, according to the excellent uſage introduced into ſeveral parts of New Spain, by the reverend ſociety. This devout homage was ſo acceptable to the holy mother, that on the ſaid ſabbath-day, the 23d of November, ſhe was pleaſed to ſolace them in the manner related by the ſame father at the end of the narrative of the entrance. "A great addition, ſays he, to our comfort, was that on laſt Saturday, when the examples in honour of the moſt holy Mary, and her holy houſe of Loretto, began to be ſettled in this country, ſince the performance of the firſt example, we ſaw appear at the mouth of the ſea, betwixt the iſland of Coronandes and the point of this bay, the galliot which with a fair wind, after two days ſailing, drop'd anchor on the ſame ſabbath near our camp. Our joy at this ſight was the greater, when we came to know that it brought father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, a veteran miſſionary, who after having been viſitor, and founded churches for miſſions among the Tarahumares, who remained faithful, with pleaſure reſigned that office to enter on another converſion no leſs ſignal among theſe our poor Californian ſavages. I cannot expreſs the comfort his coming gave me, not ſo much for my own perſon, as the concerns of the Spaniards and Indians: as now the advancement of this converſion, has an appearance of certainty; and that henceforth the ſtandard of Chriſt will not be removed from theſe countries; and that the great ſettler Mary, will lay the foundations of her holy houſe among her elect."

It was now time to ſend ſome account of California to New Spain, which was impatient to hear of the progreſs of this conqueſt. Likewiſe the galliot being only lent, juſtice required her to be immediately returned to her owner. Accordingly father Salva-Tierra ordered the captain to prepare for returning to Acapulco, and in the mean time he wrote to the principal benefactors of the miſſion. His letters breathed ſuch an apoſtolick ſpirit; ſuch mildneſs, love, humility and gratitude, that four of them were then printed, which were it not for the apprehenſion of being tedious by repetition, we would very willingly have here inſerted, one to the viceroy, and the other to his lady donna Maria Andrea Guzman y Manrique, a diſtinguiſhed protectreſs of the enterprize; a ſhort letter to don Juan de Cavalero y Ozio; and another containing a very circumſtantial narrative, to father Ugarte. In the letter to the viceroy, this excellent man ſhews, that he is not unmindful of making what returns he can for any benefits received, in thanks, in praiſes and recommendations to the divine favour of the benefactors, the commanders, the ſoldiers, and of all others to whom he was in any meaſure indebted. He likewiſe requeſted that an account of the whole ſhould be remitted to the moſt reverend father Tyrſo Gonzales, general of the order, his majeſty Charles II. and his ſuprene council of the Indies: that his majeſty might by his orders and protection, promote the ſpiritual conqueſt. But the difficulties which occurred in this affair and its iſſue, ſhall be afterwards related.

SECT. III.

Tranſactions of the two firſt years, with the attempts to enter the inward part of CALIFORNIA, till the ſettlement of the ſecond miſſion of St. Xavier.

There being nothing further to be apprehended from the Indians, the ſeveral members of the little garriſon, encouraged by the two fathers, applied themſelves to erect ſome little works of defence and buildings within the camp; the trench was enlarged and fortified with a palliſade, and thorny branches of trees; a chapel for placing our lady in, was alſo built of ſtone and clay, with a thatch'd roof: beſides three little dwellings; one for the fathers, another for the captain, and the third ſerved as a magazine. Near theſe alſo were built barracks for the ſoldiers. Chriſtmas day was appointed for the dedication of the chapel, which was performed with ſix maſſes and great rejoicings. Soon after, the long-boat was ſent away to Cinaloa, with letters for the miſſionary jeſuits of that province, to ſend in two returns what proviſions they could, and five ſoldiers to aſſiſt in the works; whilſt the fathers were taken up in learning the language, and promoting the inſtruction and reduction of the Indians,

dians. Within a few months the importance of this reinforcement was ſeen in a kind of battle in a plain field; our men being no longer pent up in the camp: the occaſion of it was as follows. The Indians by attending daily at the explication of the catechiſm became at length perſuaded, that the end of this entrance of the Spaniards, was not to fiſh or procure pearls, as they did neither; but to plant in California a new religion, the myſteries of which they were learning; but this was the very thing which alarmed the ſorcerers or primitive doctors of their nation, who ſtill retained their authority over theſe ſavages; and when afterwards they perceived their power, and conſequently their wretched profits to decline, they one and all with an infernal rage openly declared againſt the new doctrine and the ſtrangers. What had been heard of in the camp was talked of in companies, and at the rancherias, that by degrees ſome inclining to the fathers, and others by the ſeductions of their maſters being tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, there aroſe among them two religious factions. The ſorcerers omitted nothing to inflame the rancour of their party; and as father Salva-Tierra had not been able to bring with him the chriſtian Indians, whom admiral Otondo had carried from California, the ſorcerers made a handle of it for diſſeminating all over the country, that the Spaniards came only to take them away and carry them to their country: and this apparent breach of faith occaſioned vehement complaints. The diſquietude was with great induſtry fomented, but clandeſtinely, till in April, 1698, they broke out into open hoſtilities, by an inſult which our people little expected.

A boat left by the galliot had come up the bay near the long-boat. The malecontents formed a deſign of ſtealing it, either for their fiſhery, or only by way of beginning the war. For this they took the opportunity of the time when our people were at dinner, as it was impoſſible for two men left in the long-boat to hinder them: one of them, however, haſtened to the camp with advice of what had been done. On this captain Tortolero with 12 others well armed, marched down, and keeping along the coaſt, they ſaw at a diſtance the Indians in two bodies; one in the boat, and a greater number on the ſhore. Of the latter, ſome advanced to ſtop him by ſkirmiſhes, and the others having got the boat aſhore, broke it to pieces with huge ſtones, and then fled into the woods. When our men came up, the damage was found beyond repair: and as the perpetrators of this inſult were not to be found, they reſolved to go in queſt of them all along the ſhore. They divided themſelves into two companies, who were to meet at a point of land which runs into the ſea. In this ſearch, Figueroa with three ſoldiers and a faithful Californian, following a path, fell into an ambuſh of above 50 Indians, who immediately diſcharged ſtones and arrows; our men briſkly fired, and turning alſo ſeveral evolutions that they might not be hem'd in, the Californian haſtened away to the captain, who by the noiſe of the ſea, and the wind which was very high, could not hear the muſkets. The four military men bravely ſtood their ground againſt ſuch a vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, which was continually encreaſing. The intrepid Figueroa had his lip cut by a ſtone, and another ſoldier was wounded by an arrow. Through the dread of the muſkets, but chiefly through the goodneſs of God, and the patronneſs of the miſſion of our lady of Loretto, the Indians were diſcouraged from their attempt of taking them alive. The ammunition of our men began to fail them, juſt as the captain and the other five ſoldiers came up; the number of the Indians had increaſed to above a hundred, all fighting with the utmoſt deſpair. At length after ſeveral attacks, when our people were in the extremity of danger, night coming on, the Indians ſounded a retreat by their whiſtles, leaving, as they afterwards owned ſome ſlain and more wounded. This victory, which all attributed to our lady's patronage, for which a ſolemn thankſgiving was appointed, contributed greatly to humble the factious, who gradually began to return again to the camp, mingling themſelves among the friendly Indians. The captain was for making an example of ſome, but the fathers interpoſed; and the inſurgents giving a proof of their repentance and humiliation, by bringing to the camp the pieces of the boat, a general pardon was publiſhed.

The holy week was celebrated with profound tranquillity, and to the inexpreſſible amazement and delight of the Indians: and a little after, the long-boat was ſent to Rio Hiaqui for a ſupply, which it might bring, whilſt that of cloaths, furniture, and eatables, which had been applied for at Mexico was coming, as it was expected ſome day in April. The long-boat departed, and the fathers with freſh zeal applied themſelves to the inſtruction of the Californians, and likewiſe to learn their language: for the greater conveniency of doing this, and as a ſecurity againſt the fickleneſs of the Indians, father Piccolo took upon him to inſtruct the boys and girls, whom he cauſed to come within the entrenchment, whilſt, without it, father Salva-

Tierra inſtructed the adults: and by this mild meaſure, they had their ſons as ſo many hoſtages. Thus the harveſt of the goſpel went on ripening, with the knowledge, patience, and labour, which particularly manifeſted itſelf; when by degrees the Indians abſented themſelves, during the month of June, the gathering of the pitahayas then beginning, and this is alſo the time of their greateſt merriment. "We were all extremely concerned at this retreat, ſays father Salva-Tierra, the harveſt now beginning to ripen, after ſeven months and more of continued inſtruction, that to ſee and hear them afforded exceeding pleaſure. Such boys and girls as were catechumens, and had been inſtructed in the prayer of the holy croſs, and other parts of devotion, drew tears from me and others: particularly a boy called Juanico Cavalero, not yet quite four years of age, who with his little ſhell on his head and his wand in his hand, conducted the queſtions, putting his little finger to his mouth when any one talked, or did not mind, or any two were fighting, which extremely moved us. Sometimes he would take the roſaries, and the reliquaries of the ſoldiers, then fall on his knees and devoutly kiſs them, and put them to his little eyes, and bid all the Spaniards do the like: ſo that if any one did not take notice of him, it vexed him to ſuch a degree, that he was not to be quieted till he fell on his knees, and kiſſed either a crucifix or reliquary, whilſt all bleſſed the devout importunity of the child.

God rewarded the labour of the fathers with the joy of baptiſing ſome adults and children in caſes of neceſſity, where in ſpite of the rage of the evil ſpirit, by means of the ſorcerers, many remarkable and rare inſtances were ſeen of the divine mercy: but all the intreaties of ſome adults, could not prevail upon the fathers to confer baptiſm upon them, from an apprehenſion and of their fickleneſs, that they ſhould be obliged to forſake the miſſion.

Beſides the concern at the abſence of the Indians, the camp began to feel one more intereſting, the fear of periſhing for want of neceſſaries. It was now above two months ſince the long-boat had been gone, that all gave it over for loſt, eſpecially as the weather had lately been very tempeſtuous. There was little account of the ſuccours applied for at Mexico; and ſuch was their neceſſity, that in the middle of June, all the ſtore was reduced to three ſacks of meal, ill-ground, and three others of maize, which was full of maggots while it was aboard the veſſel.

The conſternation was ſo general and great, that even father Salva-Tierra begins the narrative, which was to accompany the letter already mentioned, in theſe words, "I write this narrative, uncertain whether I ſhall live to make an end of it, for at my preſent writing, our neceſſity for want of ſupplies is very general: and as they will every day grow upon us, and I am the moſt advanced in years of all in the camp of our lady of Loretto, I ſhall naturally pay the firſt tribute." But the moſt admirable circumſtance is, that among ſo many labours and dangers, the fathers were able to keep the people of the camp in order, being compoſed of ſo many different nations, and moſt of them before, ſo licentious in their lives. Whereas, now though they were twenty-two in number, not a quarrel nor an oath, nor any ill word was heard among them. So far from it, that they never failed to attend the devotional exerciſes, and encouraged each other chearfully to die in that diſtreſs, and very devoutly aſſiſted at a devotion for nine days, which the fathers appointed for imploring the aſſiſtance of the patroneſs of the miſſion. Having heard a ſermon againſt ſwearing, that vice ſo common among ſoldiers and ſeamen, the two claſſes of which the camp conſiſted, that in a certain city of Germany, he who ſwears is made to pay a fine, they unanimouſly agreed to lay a like penalty to be deducted from their pay, and at a proper

per opportunity to be ſpent in an entertainment. Some of the ſoldiers were treaſurers, and on any one's ſwearing, the others encompaſſed him like bees, demanding the fine. This in time put an end to all ſwearing and imprecations, and would to God the like practice obtained in all garriſons.

The nine days devotion were now drawing near to a concluſion, and they now alſo ſaw the end of their proviſions; when on the 21ſt of June, being the feſtival of San Luis Gonzaga, a large new bark, called the San Joſeph, came from Chacala, under the command of an inhabitant of Compoſtella, by whom father Ugarte ſent all the ſuccours he was able; and ſeven ſoldiers volunteers, who went to ſerve in the garriſon. They were received with inexpreſſible joy, and ſolemn thanks returned to God, the patroneſs of Loretto, and her beloved ſon San Luis. And as the long-boat was ſuppoſed to be loſt, father Salva-Tierra was for treating with the owner about the boat. The latter was very deſirous of it, having by experience of this voyage, been acquainted with its ill qualities. He alſo acted very fraudulently in the contract, which at laſt was concluded for twelve thouſand dollars, to be paid in Mexico by father Ugarte, father Juan Maria having no money by him. It was not long before the abominable deceit of the owner was found out, that ſix thouſand dollars more were expended in fitting it for the ſea: beſides the loſs of a whole cargo, the firſt voyage, and on a ſecond having been ſtranded at Acapulco, was ſold for five hundred dollars, after coſting eighteen thouſand, a very conſiderable loſs to the miſſion. The want of a veſſel was ſupplied by the treaſurer don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, who very opportunately ſent to father Juan Maria, a bark called San Fermin, and likewiſe a long-boat, called San Xavier, of which immediate uſe was made, to fetch wood and fruits from Chacala and Metanchel, and proviſions from Yaqui, Ahome, Guaymas, and other ports; alſo ſome mares, horſes, and cattle, ſent by don Auguſtin Eucinas, an illuſtrious benefactor to the miſſion, from its commencement, and whoſe pious liberality has deſcended to his ſon don Miguel.

The fathers being now pretty well acquainted with the language of California, and having horſes for the more convenient ſurvey of a country ſo rugged and poor, came to a reſolution of performing it by ſeveral ways. In the beginning of the year 1699, father Juan Maria, accompanied by ſome ſoldiers, firſt went northward toward a place called Londo, nine leagues diſtant from Loretto, and where there was a numerous rancheria. The venerable father ſeveral times ſent the Indians notice of his intended viſit, but their fears were not to be removed. At his approaching the place, they all immediately made off, and though he and his attendants called to them, and ſtaid two days in expectation of them, he had the mortification to return without ſeeing them. When they came to the camp, he complained to them of ſuch a behaviour, allayed their fears, and in ſpring going again to viſit them, he called the place San Juan Baptiſta, inſtructed them in the myſteries of the faith, talked kindly to them, diſtributed little preſents among them, and took a view of the ground, and alſo of the water near it, in order for ſowing.

Among others who came down to the camp, were ſome Indians of a part called Vigge Biaundo, lying ſouth of Loretto, behind ſome rugged mountains, and which was ſaid to be very fit for paſture and tillage. Theſe ſhewed themſelves ſo tractable and friendly, and particularly ſo deſirous of converſion, that a youth among them of a remarkable vivacity, genius, and goodneſs of temper, was admitted to baptiſm, by the name of Franciſco Xavier, though this privilege was denied to adults. Hither father Piccolo went on the 10th of May, and after ſuffering a great deal in a journey without any road, and the ſoldiers fearing to venture any farther, he determined to go alone among the civilized Indians; and having got over the precipices on foot, he came to a breach where was the rancheria, and was received with the moſt cordial demonſtrations of love. He remained among them four days inſtructing them, and with great pleaſure heard that the new chriſtian Franciſco Xavier, conformably to his name, uſed to do the like, and this name was alſo given to the rancheria. Some Indians from ſeveral rancherias of that chain of mountains came thither; and others from the weſtern parts, who gave an account of the oppoſite, or outward coaſt, which is waſhed by the South-ſea. The father took a view of the whole valley, and found in it ſome ſpots fit for tillage, whither water might be conveyed, and likewiſe fruit trees planted; beſides good paſtures for their cattle and horſes. They returned to the camp, and croſſed the chain of mountains in a more difficult part: but at the foot of them, they found their horſes ſafely guarded by ſome faithful Indians; and one day more along a ſhorter way carried them to Loretto. Eight days after, father Salva-Tierra went a ſecond time to San Juan de Londo, at the requeſt of the Indians, who informed him that ſeveral rancherias of the Liyu language, and others of the Cochimi nation would repair thither to hear the doctrine of the goſpel.

As there was a want of beaſts to carry the proviſions, the chief men among the Monqui Indians ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward in offering to carry the ſacks, not more in order to come in for a ſhare in the contents, than to avail themſelves of this occaſion, for procuring a reconciliation with the Cochimes, who were very much incenſed againſt them, for the death of a youth, who had become a chriſtian by the name of Andrew, and was very much beloved by the fathers. He preached to them all, and having entered into friendſhip with them, went to another rancheria, three leagues farther, in queſt of another very faithful Indian called Nicholas, and at that time ſick. The greateſt part of this rancheria alſo fled; to thoſe who remained, the father's behaviour was very courteous and winning. But at his return to Londo, he found the minds of the Indians rankled, both on account of the ſermon, and the revival of the hatred againſt the Monquis, during his abſence. Matters came to the point of an open rupture, and the father's mule was wounded with an arrow, whilſt he was baptizing and adminiſtring the chriſm to eight children: and the Monquis ſtole part of the baggage. At length by the father's endeavours, both parties were quieted; and they all returned to Loretto, chearfully aſſiſting to level ſome aſperities in the way, which otherwiſe would have been impracticable to the beaſts.

The country of Vigge was juſtly an object of greater attention, as much more fit and convenient for founding a ſecond miſſion, and thereſore greatly deſired, the only difficulty being the ruggedneſs and ſteepneſs of the way: ſo as to be extremely difficult to men on foot, but quite unpaſſable to beaſts. However the ſoldiers animated by father Piccolo, and aſſiſted by the Indians, by dint of very hard labour, opened a way of a ſufficient breadth, betwixt the precipices of the mountain, that on the 12th of June it began to be frequented. He paſſed along it on horſe-back to the country of San Franciſco Xavier. Near this ſpot was a very high hill, which the captain, with two other ſoldiers determined to go up, in order to take a view of the country, which proved a work of great difficulty, on account of the cragginess and many brambles intermixed with the precipices: but when they reached the ſummit, they were very far from repenting of their labour, as on both ſides it not only afforded them a large view of the country, but likewiſe of the two ſeas, that of California and the South ſea; that in their firſt extacies, they fired their pieces for joy. The reports alarmed their companions, who fearing ſome ambuſh, were haſtening to aſſiſt them. But being informed at a diſtance of the cauſe, they ran with the news to father Piccolo, who after he had renewed his inſtructions to the Indians, and aſſured them of his conſtant affection, returned with the whole company to Loretto, by the ſame way.

At this time don Luis de Torres Tortolero, captain of the garriſon, labouring under a continual defluxion in his eyes, contracted by his fatigues in the new conqueſt, laid down his employment, to the great concern of the venerable father Juan Maria; for to his courage, prudence, and religion, the eſtabliſhment of the miſſions was not a little owing. The father nominated as his ſucceſſor, don Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, an old ſoldier of Fuenterabia: and beſides certificates of the higheſt praiſes, he gave to don Luis, letters of recommendation to the audience of Guadalaxara, that they would be pleaſed to beſtow ſome comfortable government on ſo deſerving a perſon: a cuſtom which the grateful father never failed in towards thoſe who behaved well. The reſt of the ſummer of 1699, beſides other journeys of leſs notice, the fathers ſpent in their uſual apoſtolick functions, in preparing a new and large chapel in the camp of Loretto, for our lady, and likewiſe in laying the foundations in a convenient place, about one hundred paces from the garriſon for a church, which though ſmall in itſelf, was large and ſplendid for that country; and likewiſe of an apartment for the miſſionary. Theſe buildings and others which were carrying on for the conveniency of the garriſon, and in which the fathers were directors, officers, and labourers, advanced but ſlowly, on account of ſome intervening impediments. The chapel within the camp, was dedicated the following year, and the church five years after, namely, in 1704. The bleſſed virgin highly approved of the cordial devotion of her ſervant Salva-Tierra, who had communicated the ſame holy flame to every heart in the garriſon; and nouriſhed it with the religious ſervices every Saturday. That moſt bountiful queen was pleaſed to manifeſt her ſingular protection of this her little flock, as was moſt ſenſibly experienced in the greateſt extremities with the circumſtance of delivering them from their diſtreſs, on the Saturdays, which they ſanctified with offices of devotion to her. The very Saturday when they had come to a reſolution of building the church and chapel, and were aſſiſting at the offices of the roſary, the litanies, the ſermon, and example; the Indians ſuddenly cried out puha, puha, which in their language ſignifies a ſhip or veſſel; and it proved to be a galliot from don Pedro Gil y de la Sierpe, which ſeaſonably brought a very large quantity of proviſions, ſent by him and the preſident of Guadalaxara. It alſo cauſed a great ſatisfaction to find that all the bills which had been drawn by the ſoldiers, had been anſwered at Mexico, father Ugarte having tranſmitted the particulars, in an account drawn up by himſelf.

With this reinforcement, father Piccolo thought it proper no longer to delay ſettling a new miſſion at San Xavier de Viaundo, leaving father Salva-Tierra at Loretto, and he himſelf going to live with the Indians, in the center of the Vigge mountains. Accordingly, in the beginning of October, he removed thither attended by ſome ſoldiers, with the help of whom, and his new ſons, the Indian mountaineers, he built ſome ſmall houſes, or cottages of andoves or raw bricks, as dwellings for himſelf and his companions, and likewiſe a chapel of the ſame materials. Whilſt theſe were drying, he and father Mendoza with ſome ſoldiers, and guided by the Indians, ſet out to view the oppoſite coaſt of the South ſea, which admiral Otondo ſo famed for his naval atchievements, had in vain attempted. At the diſtance of four leagues South Weſt, they came to a large rancheria of tractable Indians, which father Piccolo conſecrated to his countrywoman Roſalia. After this, they followed a little ſtream, which brought them down to the ſea; here along the ſhore, they ſaw great numbers of thoſe azure ſhells ſo very famous, but without finding, though they went a great way along the coaſt, any place proper for a ſettlement; nor bay, creek, or harbour, for receiving the galleon from the Philippine Iſlands, as was ſo extremely deſired by the merchants and government. In their return they renewed their friendſhip with the Indians of San Roſalia, inviting them to come to San Xavier, whence word was ſent to father Salva-Tierra, that he would be pleaſed to come and conſecrate the chapel on All-ſaints day, when the want of ſolemnity and magnificence, was made up by devotion and joy.

SECT. IV.

The difficulties which happened at the commencement of the preſent century, and the unfortunate management of the affairs of the miſſion in MEXICO.

Amidſt this mixture of good and bad fortune, commenced the preſent century 1700; but this brought with it ſuch ſtorms of calamities to the miſſion in California, which now began to put on a promiſing appearance as muſt have totally deſtroyed and extinguiſhed it, had it not been founded upon the lofty mountains of the virgin, and under her particular countenance and protection. The number of ſettlers already in California, Spaniards, Meſtizos, and New-Spain Indians, amounted to no leſs than ſix hundred perſons. But on account of this very increaſe, as no ſubſiſtence had hitherto been obtained from the country, very large ſupplies of proviſions were rendered of abſolute neceſſity. The ſhipping of the miſſion at this time, conſiſted of two veſſels, called the San Joſeph and San Fermin, and the San Xavier long-boat. The Spaniards hitherto had behaved quietly and contentedly, in their ſubordination to the fathers; and might reaſonably expect proper favours from the government of Mexico, and large ſuccours from good chriſtians, for the ſupport and enlargement of a conqueſt, which had been ſo paſſionately deſired, and ſo frequently attempted at an immenſe charge. But God to try the conſtancy of his faithful miniſters, permitted things to take a gloomy turn. The San Joſeph, as we have before noticed, became a dead weight on the miſſion, involving it in expences for uſeleſs repairs, till the utter loſs of it. The San Fermin by the careleſſneſs of the pilots, ran aground near the harbour of Ahome, and for want of aſſiſtance through the baſeneſs of the ſeamen and officers, hoping greater profits from the building a new veſſel, the violence of the waves beat it to pieces in the beginning of the year. Thus the San Xavier's long-boat only remained: and that ſo battered and weakened by bad weather that it was with great hazard that father Salva-Tierra, having left the care of the garriſon to father Piccolo, reached Cinaloa in it, where he heard of the loſs of the San Fermin. At Cinaloa he uſed all poſſible diligence towards a ſpeedy remedy: but meeting here with ſome difficulties, he reſolved as his laſt reſource to apply himſelf to the viceroy.

Father Juan Maria, had from the very beginning, ſent an account of the proceedings to his excellency. In the two firſt years he had alſo tranſmitted other letters, in which were intermixed moſt humble requeſts for his protection: and on the firſt of March of this year, he drew up in California a long memorial to the royal council, ſigned by the fathers and thirty-five others: in which he ſuccinctly relates all that had happened in the conqueſt and preſent condition of it; ſets forth the wants under which it laboured; ſpecifies the ſeveral expences made in the expedition, and the impoſſibility of the garriſon's being ſupported by caſual contributions, eſpecially, as they were now ſenſibly felt to decline. He earneſtly requeſts the royal protection, that the fruit of ſo many labours may not be loſt: he deſires that the garriſon may be paid on the king's account, as all the others on the frontiers were; and if this be not done, he proteſts againſt the damages which will be the conſequence of his forſaking the miſſion: concluding, that his companion Piccolo and he, were determined to perſevere in it, though left alone and expoſed to certain death from the hands of the ſavages. At Cinaloa he compoſed another memorial to the viceroy, ſetting forth the damages ſuſtained by the San Joſeph; the loſs of the San Fermin; the weak condition of the long-boat, though now the garriſon's only vehicle; and the imminent danger, that in the interim the ſettlers would miſerably periſh for want; and this at a time when they all had been indulging themſelves in the pleaſing hopes of the entire ſubmiſſion of that large country to the ſaving yoke of the faith and the dominion of his catholick majeſty. He therefore requeſted that he would beſtow upon California a veſſel, which a little before had been by warrant, allowed to ſome Peru traders at Acapulco. The viceroy was not pleaſed to give himſelf the trouble of anſwering the father's firſt letters; and though father Ugarte very much ſollicited to have them read in a general aſſembly; all that he could obtain was only a verbal mention of them. The effect of this, was, that a thouſand crowns were appointed for the expences of the miſſion: but father Ugarte declined receiving it, as utterly diſproportionate to the exigency, though it would at the ſame time put a ſtop to all the contributions of the benefactors. He alſo ſhewed that a few years before 30000 dollars per annum had been offered to the ſociety to take the enterprize upon themſelves: and that the greateſt part of it being already accompliſhed, it did not become the government ſo ſoon to depart from thoſe principles, by which its reſolutions were at that time directed. But theſe and other ſtrenuous repreſentations met with ſuch a cold reception, that for the two firſt years, not the leaſt proviſion was made for the ſupport of the miſſion.

The more recent memorials concerning the veſſel and garriſon, far from having a better effect, were attacked by a moſt atrocious calumny, that the loſs of the San Fermin was no other than a trick of the jeſuits, in order to have a fingering of the king's money. It muſt indeed be a heart armed with the impenetrable ſhield of faith, and inflamed with a deſire of its propagation, to bear up againſt ſuch a combination of difficulties. But it would not be the cauſe of God, did it not deſerve to be maintained and proſecuted, no leſs under diſcouragement and ſhame, than under proſperity and reputation. Father Salva-Tierra, more to remove this vile objection, than from any care of himſelf, ſent five letters from the treaſurer of Guadalaxara, and other perſons of diſtinction, certifying the loſs of the veſſel. Theſe indeed deſtroyed the calumny; but did not create any deſires of ſupplying the wants. The papers were referred to the ſollicitor, who after long delays, required a ſight of the licences, by virtue of which the fathers had firſt gone over to California, and in his report, he laboured to prove that by them the fathers had no claim on the revenue. This difficulty alſo was overcome by ſhewing the alteration of circumſtances, and the difference betwixt the attempt of a conqueſt, and the preſervation of what has been conquered: and after long debates, the caſe was ordered to be referred to the viceroy, the reſolution belonging to him only. The urgency of the wants required all poſſible diſpatch in this; yet all that could be obtained, was an offer to tranſmit an account of the matter to court, and wait his majeſty's reſolution: and as for the Peruvian veſſel, it was ordered, that if father Ugarte would enter into a bond to pay the value of it, on the repeal of the grant, it ſhould be delivered up for the ſervice of California, but not otherwiſe. This, the father was by no means able to do; ſo that neither the veſſel, nor even its boat were given; nor was it ſo much as permitted, that the galliot of don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, now dead, ſhould be lent to carry over the ſuccours which had been procured. Certificates of their ſervices were required, in order to ſeek for redreſs at court, but were denied: and thus the only recourſe left to the beſt friends of mankind was patience and chriſtian fortitude.

The viceroy had in May 1698, and in October 1699, laid before his majeſty in his council of the Indies, an account of the enterprize in California. Theſe accounts were very acceptable, and large ſuccours were promiſed, eſpecially through the zealous ſollicitation of that moſt excellent lady the counteſs of Galves donna Alvira de Toledo, who had been vice-queen at Mexico; and who intereſted herſelf in the happy iſſue of this undertaking. However by the death of this lady, and the agitations into which the illneſs of king Charles II. threw the court, as with that prince it was apprehended the monarchy itſelf would expire, and much more by his deceaſe which happened on the 1ſt of November, 1700, no manner of proviſion was made for California.

The acceſſion of Philip V. inſpired new life and vigor into the languid body of the ſtate: and though the third report, which the viceroy had promiſed to ſend, had not yet reached Madrid; yet the deſtitute condition of that important conqueſt being known by private letters, the two firſt reports were read in council, and by its advice the young monarch on the 17th of July, being only the eighth month of the firſt year of his reign, diſpatched three warrants ſtrongly in favour of California, and no leſs honourable to the reverend ſociety, directed to don Juan de Ortega Montanes, archbiſhop of Mexico, then newly inveſted with the viceroyſhip, to the biſhop of Guadalaxara, and to the audience of that city. By the firſt warrant founded on the two reports, it was ordered that by no means an entrance of ſuch importance ſhould be neglected, but ſupported by all poſſible means: and his majeſty's affectionate thanks to be returned to the miſſionaries. It likewiſe directed that 6000 dollars ſhould be every year paid out of the royal treaſury for that miſſion, without delaying or omitting it on any pretence. It likewiſe required that an exact account ſhould be taken of the country; the garriſon; the means of forwarding the conqueſt; the communication with New Spain; the condition of the miſſions of Cinaloa, Sonora and Nueva Biſcaya; and the ſuccours which theſe might furniſh towards the new miſſion; and laſtly it enjoyned that he ſhould interpoſe his authority for removing to California, if poſſible, two miſſions founded for Cinaloa and Sonora, by Alonzo Fernandez de la Torre, lately an inhabitant of Compoſtella. In the other two his majeſty directed the biſhop and audience to encourage and promote the enterpriſe; to ſend him an account of their proceedings, and to uſe proper meaſures for the exchange of the miſſions. Another royal warrant ſigned by her majeſty Mary of Savoy, was ſent the following year to the duke de Alburquerque, now viceroy, which I inſert here, both on account of its contents, and as a pleaſing memorial of that moſt amiable woman's accompliſhments, whoſe fine qualities and virtues juſtly cauſed her to be idolized by the whole nation. " The king and queen regent, to the duke of Alburquerque, my couſin, lord of my bed chamber, my viceroy, governor and captain general of the provinces of New Spain, and preſident of the Royal Audenci of Mexico; the provincial of the ſociety of jeſuits, in the province of Toledo, has repreſented to me, that it is now above five years ſince ſome miſſionaries of his order undertook the ſpiritual and temporal conqueſt of the Californians; and that in

Auguſt of the laſt year 1701, they had reduced the Indians for the ſpace of 50 leagues to a ſettled obedience, and founded four towns, with above 600 chriſtians, moſt of them young, and no leſs than 2000 adult catechumens; and that in the midſt of this happineſs, obtained without any expence to the royal revenue, but through the labour of thoſe religious, and the charitable contributions of zealous perſons, till the aſſignment paſſed laſt year for this purpoſe of 600 dollars to each, on the treaſury of Mexico. Some diſturbance was to be apprehended from the ſavages, of which the ſigns daily increaſed, that all neceſſary precautions were to be uſed againſt any detriment which threatened ſo great a work, in order to which, he has petitioned me to take what meaſures ſhould ſeem good to me, and though in my warrant of the 17th of July in the above mentioned year 1700, very particular orders and inſtructions were ſent to the government, concerning what was to be done for the better ſucceſs of the conqueſt of California, and promoting ſettlements there, I am now reſolved by my royal order of the 11th of this month, to renew the like directions to you; at the ſame time making known to you how agreeable thoſe accounts were to me, by reaſon of the great advantages which are expected from the ardent zeal of the miſſionaries of the reverend ſociety, whom you are hereby directed to aſſiſt, and countenance on all occaſions, which may conduce to their relief and ſatisfaction, and the accompliſhment of the holy end, to which their indefatigable labours are directed, as I expect from you great duty to God and the crown. You likewiſe are to take care that they be occaſionally aſſiſted by all perſons in office and others; you are to ſend me an account of all your proceedings. Given at Madrid the 11th of December, 1702 —— I the Queen. By her majeſty's order, don Manuel de Apperregui."

Whilſt theſe ſchedules were in agitation at Madrid, not the leaſt thing was done at Mexico in favour of the miſſion on his majeſty's account. It is true, that this was in ſome meaſure impeded by two conqueſts, which the government of Mexico had undertaken with great vigour: the firſt was of the garriſon of Panzacola, on the gulf of Mexico, in the province of Florida, where it joins to Louiſiana, in 69 deg. W. longitude according to the famous geographer monſieur d'Anville, from the common meridian of the iſle of Ferro, or in 291 E. longitude, and in 30 degrees and a half north latitude. The ſecond was that of the province of Los Tezas, lying North of New

Mexico, in 95 degrees weſt longitude, or in 265 eaſtern longitude, from the ſame common meridian; and in 38 degrees north latitude. In the firſt conqueſt, above a million of dollars was expended in the year 1700, only Panzacola might not fall into the hands of other nations. Great advantages were alſo expected from the conqueſt of Los Texas, which was carried on without any regard to the expence. However both diverted the attention of the government from California. But the chief cauſe of ſo many delays and obſtructions was jealouſy, that evil which, from the beginning, has clogged all the plans of the ſociety. This malignant paſſion, which lurked in the corrupt hearts of many by ſpecious pretences, infects the good intentions and ſimplicity of the incautious. They whoſe hearts are continually grovelling amidſt the mire of this world, think it a mere chimera, that any one ſhould expoſe himſelf to great fatigues and dangers, without having in view a ſuitable preſent reward; and conſequently how could perſons of ſuch ſentiments believe, that the fathers, amidſt ſuch labours, diſtreſſes, and troubles, were aiming only at the glory of God, and the converſion of ſavages. The former expeditions to California, though unſucceſsful, had ſerved to enrich great numbers, either by the large ſums of the royal revenue which had been expended, or by fiſhing and trading for pearls. The jeſuits were without any of theſe advantages. But the report of their being maſters of California, had no ſooner ſpread, than many of Mexico conceived, and induſtriouſly gave out, that the jeſuits found great treaſures there. Beſides the contributions of the benefactors, though not at all equal to the expences of the enterpriſe, yet were more than ſufficient to make a great noiſe among thoſe, who though they did not think fit to envy the jeſuits, the toils, dangers, and hardſhips, through which they were ſeeking the kingdom of God, yet were the firſt to envy them their temporal aggrandizement and reputation. This indeed was wanting in a conqueſt, which abounded only in wants. Yet the former account of the pearls ſtrengthened theſe malicious reports, which were carefully diſſeminated among the people as powerful reaſons, and cloathed with the appearance of patriotiſm, care of the publick money, and zeal for his majeſty's ſervice.

There was alſo another cauſe which ſprung up in the very boſom of the miſſion; and this was the uneaſineſs of the captain of the garriſon, Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, with whom the fatigues of his employment little agreed. But what he bore ſtill with greater impatience was his ſubordination to the fathers, who would not allow him to oppreſs the Indians by any of thoſe pretences, which, in other parts, have been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by covetouſneſs for obtaining a ſudden fortune on the ruin of thoſe unhappy people. Accordingly about this time he wrote ſeveral letters to his friends and the viceroy, full of complaints againſt the fathers, though with ſuch equivocation, that in one to the viceroy, dated the 22d of October 1700, after beſtowing on the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, the titles of holy men, apoſtles, and cherubims, and magnifying their labour, zeal, and diſintereſtedneſs, he inveighs againſt all inland expeditions, levelings of ways, planting, tilling, and other works, concluding at laſt "I ſee no other remedy for putting a ſtop to theſe romantick and raſh ſchemes, than to give an account of them to the moſt reverend provincial of the ſociety, deſiring him that he would order from hence theſe two religious, and ſecure them in a place where they may receive the puniſhment they deſire: and for my part impriſon and chain me in a caſtle, as a warning to thoſe that come after me, that they may not be carried away by ſuch deluſions." Theſe letters, which the enemies to the miſſion did not grudge to copy and diſtribute great numbers of them in Mexico and other parts, though written by a man under a violent diſcompoſure of mind made a deep impreſſion on ſome of the miniſtry; and on all who conſidered the ſubordination of the ſoldiers to the fathers, only as a gratification of an exceſſive deſire of power: and who looked upon this ſubjection as a ſcandal to the name of a ſoldier, although they were paid out of charitable contributions. But the misfortune was, that the diſpute happened at a time when the treaſury was exhauſted, and when very few minded any thing elſe, than to make the beſt advantage of the uncertain life of a king, naturally infirm, and now ſick, and without any ſucceſſor. Another unhappy effect of theſe reports being ſpread among the people by perſons of figure, was, that they cooled the hearts of many who before had chearfully and liberally contributed to the ſupport of the miſſion, that it became neceſſary from an inability to ſupport it, to reduce the garriſon of Loretto to only twelve ſoldiers, who voluntarily remained, that the fathers might not be wholly forſaken. The ſmall number now left ſpirited up the Indians to form ſeveral plots, and all journies or ſettlements up the country, were no longer to be thought of. The baptiſm of the adults was put off for a long time; and ſuch were the hardſhips and diſtreſſes which befell our people in California, that it plainly appeared to be the divine will, that this ſpiritual conqueſt ſhould be founded on oppoſition and ſufferings; his uſual method in all works which he owns as his. In a letter of October 3, 1700, father Salva-Tierra, after acquainting his friend the ſolicitor of Guadalaxara, that he had diſcharged 18 ſoldiers, adds, "For the diſcharge of the remainder I only wait for the laſt reſolutions of the audience of Mexico, to whom I have ſent my final proteſts. After the total reduction of the ſoldiers, we ſhall conſult on liquidating all arrears: and if, for want of a military force, our California ſons ſhould ſend us to give an account to God, there will ſtill remain our lady of Loretto, who unqueſtionably will pay the whole."

All hopes of aſſiſtance from the government being now deſpaired of, father Ugarte collected in Mexico what contributions he could: theſe he laid out according to the bills which had been ſent him; and with an intent of remaining in California for ever, he requeſted leave to ſend that unlucky veſſel the San Joſeph, which after twenty-two months ſhe had been building on the coaſt of New Galicia, was not yet finiſhed. It was with great difficulty his ſuperiors would admit of it; and having left the concerns of the miſſion in the hands of the faithful father Alexandro Romano, he left Mexico on the third of December, being the feſtival of St. Xavier his patron; he took the way of Queretaro and Guadalaxara, in order to acquaint Ozio and the ſolicitor Miranda, of the ſtate of affairs; and having given proper orders on the coaſt of Cinaloa and Ahome, for ſending away the long-boat with proviſions, he traveled above 400 leagues to the river Hiaqui, where he hoped to find father Juan Maria, but he was diſappointed; and his impatience to reach theſe new miſſions for the converſion of the gentiles, not admitting of any delay, inſtead of waiting for him, he boldly got into an old ſmall boat left as unſerviceable on the coaſt, and having in three days croſſed the gulf with a fair wind, he arrived at Loretto on the 19th of March, on the feſtival of the patriarch St. Joſeph, whom he had choſen for his protector in ſo dangerous a paſſage. Here he found father Piccolo, and the people of the garriſon in the utmoſt melancholy and diſtreſs, as ſince laſt October, they had received no ſupply, nor any account from the coaſt. Providence a few days after, was pleaſed to comfort them by the arrival of the San Xavier long-boat with the proviſions, which father Ugarte had put on board three months before. But by the violence of contrary winds, the boat had been beating the ſea all the time, ſo that great part of the proviſions was expended.

SECT. V.

Attempts and voyages for diſcovering the junction of CALIFORNIA with the continent of New Spain: a ſhort narrative of the deſigns and heroick labours of father Franciſco Kino, in the miſſions of Sonora and Pineria; with an account of them.

Father Salva-Tierra, with inconceivable grief, ſaw himſelf on the point of abandoning for ever, after ſuch a great expence to well diſpoſed perſons, the converſion of California, from the impoſſibility of procuring a ſubſiſtence from the miſſionaries and others in the country, and from the delay, uncertainty, and continual want of ſuccours from New Spain. He ſaw that without ſuch proviſions, all the meaſures of the moſt ardent zeal for the converſion of the Indians would be of no effect. Laſtly, he ſaw that new oppoſitions were daily raiſing in Mexico againſt affording him the neceſſary ſupplies. In this exigency he determined to croſs the gulf in ſearch of others, and for opening a way to receive them with leſs uncertainty and

danger,

danger. His hopes were grounded on the miſſions of the jeſuits, in the province of Sonora, which he flattered himſelf might hereafter make one body with thoſe of California, by a reciprocation of ſupplies, and all kinds of good offices: to this purpoſe he left Loretto at the end of October 1700, and landed at Cinaloa, where having collected ſome contributions and ſuccours for his miſſion, he went to Sonora to meet his old reverend friend father Kino. This apoſtolical jeſuit, who, as we have related, had firſt put Salva-Tierra on the Californian deſign, and being detained as a priſoner at Sonora, by the neceſſity of his perſonal preſence in that province, had endeavoured to ſupport the laſt mentioned father, by collecting donations, and ſending from Guayma and Hiaqui, furniture, beaſts for breeding, and proviſions, which he procured among the mines and miſſions. But neither his elevated thoughts, nor thoſe of the venerable Salva-Tierra, were limited to the preſent time, nor to low objects; both formed the ſcheme of ſubjecting to the king the vaſt countries of America, contiguous to the South ſea, one carrying on his ſpiritual conqueſts along the north of California, and the other through the continent of America, till he arrived at laſt in the countries oppoſite to Puerto de Monte-Rey, and cape

Mendozino, in caſe California was not found to be an iſland, at the ſame time converting all the interjacent country to chriſtianity. Theſe great men were not able to accompliſh their extenſive ſchemes, nor hitherto have the jeſuits who ſucceeded them in their miſſions and labours. But it is worth taking notice of here, what each did ſeparately towards the execution of ſo vaſt a project, and lay open the noble views with which they were animated: for the reaſons for the execution of them being of the ſame nature and validity now, it will be proper to enter into a detail of the plan, which in this enterpriſe is at any time to be followed: and this will further ſhew the importance and the connection of the ſeveral miſſions, and what may be expected under the good pleaſure of providence from the enlargement and proſperity of them. But in order to this, it is neceſſary, by way of digreſſion, to give a ſhort account of the miſſions of Sonora. The particular narrative of the ſaid miſſions will more circumſtantially gratify the curioſity of the reader, with an infinite variety of accounts. In the mean time, thoſe I am going to lay before him, are of the greateſt authenticity, having been at the pains of copying them from the original journals of father Kino, father Juan Antonio Balthaſar, formerly viſitor of the ſaid miſſions, and now preſident of the province of Mexico; a perſon whoſe zeal, labours, virtues, and talents, will juſtly entitle him to the admiration of poſterity.

The province of Sonora lies eaſt of California, the gulf of that name running betwixt both; and thus, as we have ſaid, waſhing both coaſts. It is the leaſt province of the Spaniſh dominions in America, along the coaſt of the South ſea: for though that of New Mexico, which lies north eaſt of Sonora, be in a higher latitude than this, it is a province on all ſides environed by land, without any iſſue to the ſea. The government of Sonora reached northward from the mouth of the river Hiaqui, to the Apaches, who hitherto have been the ſcourge and the terror of the whole country. The laſt miſſion of the coaſt, was that of Concepcion de Caborca in about thirty-one degrees, and about ninety or one hundred leagues from the river Hiaqui; but was totally deſtroyed laſt year 1751, by the ſavages in an inſurrection, when it was the happineſs of the two miſſionaries, father Thomas Tello a native of Almagro, and ſon of Alonſo Tello and Iſabel Buytron, and father Henrique Rohen to ſeal their faith by martyrdom, though an inexpreſſible loſs to the new eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in thoſe parts. Weſtward it is bounded by the gulf of California; ſouthward it joins to the provinces of Rio

Mayo, Cinaloa, and Oſti Muri, and eaſtward it reaches to the high mountain of Tarrahumara. The circumference of the whole, is about three hundred and fifty leagues. It is inhabited by various nations of Indians, as the Opatas, Topas, Teguaiamas, Heguis, the upper Paymas and the lower Paymas, the Seris, the Tepocas, and Guayamas; among all which are twenty-four miſſions of jeſuits. The air is ſalutary and mild, the country very different, being ſteep mountains intermixed with delightful levels and fruitful valleys, formed by the ſeveral branches of the great mountain; and where, beſides excellent paſtures, are produced in great plenty, moſt of the eſculent vegetables of Europe and America. The greateſt inconveniency of this is, that along the gulf of California, its coaſt is a ſucceſſion of inacceſſible mountains and barren ſands, without any freſh water: and for this reaſon, from Hiaqui to Caborca it is inhabited only by the Guayamas, the Tepocas, and the Seris, who live by fiſhing. Such a diſpoſition of the ſhore, with impediments of another nature, has not only rendered any ſettlements on the coaſt by Spaniſh colonies impracticable, but alſo made the formation of any miſſions extremely difficult. And though many trials and entrances have been made, and in theſe late years, the Indians on the coaſt have admitted the faith among them, yet it is far from being in a proper manner and firmneſs, as was moſt unhappily proved by the inſurrection abovementioned in 1751; and which it is juſtly feared will prove a laſting obſtacle to its reduction. On this account, though the province has a coaſt of ſuch extent, it may be looked upon as inland, affording no manner of conveniency for a maritime commerce with the other provinces: and to the ſame cauſe it is owing, that the frontiers of California do not receive from Sonora, which it might, were the diſpoſition of its coaſt otherwiſe.

Sonora may be ſaid at the ſame time to be one of the pooreſt and richeſt provinces of America, and of the world. Beſides its fruitfulneſs in all ſorts of uſeful vegetables, it is every where full of veins of ſilver ore and mines, and of ſuch richneſs, that what is related of ſome, exceeds all credibility; and if the allegations in ſuits before the ſupreme council of the Indies may be depended on, Potoſi and the other mines, however rich, are no longer to be principally admired, Sonora affording mountains, wanting very little of being entirely compoſed of maſſy ſilver. Several Spaniſh families in different camps or ſettlements, make conſiderable advantages of theſe mines: yet is this province one of the pooreſt, and in the whole world there is ſcarce a more manifeſt proof of that truth, though but little attended to, that the wealth and power of a ſtate does not conſiſt in gold, ſilver, gems, and the noble metals, but in the number and induſtry of its inhabitants; a well cultivated ſoil, graziery, and variety of manufactures for conſumption and exportation, and the exact adminiſtration of juſtice. Sonora, I repeat it, is in extreme poverty; and it is even viſible, that every day it becomes thinner of inhabitants. The cauſes are general to all Spaniſh America and even to Old Spain. But they are of greater force in Sonora, as lying more out of the way of the trade to Europe; a detail of it would require a longer diſcourſe than is conſiſtent with this place: but as this is an eſſential point in the knowledge of your conſtitution of the province, and as the religious ſettlements already founded, and the ſucceſs of the miſſions and conqueſts, both of Sennora and California depended on it, it will be proper, paſſing by others of leſs conſideration, to lay open the two moſt principal ſources. The firſt is, that as ſilver is here to be conſidered as the principal, or only mercantile commodity proper for exportation, the advantage made by the ſilver, little anſwers the charge of working it. The ſeparation of the ſilver by fire, is attended with ſo great an expence, that, large as the produce is, the advantage is little or nothing. The ſeparation of the ſilver by mercury is ſtill more chargeable than by fire. For beſides the exceſſive price of mercury at firſt hand, there is the charge of land carriage on the backs of beaſts, for no leſs than ſix hundred leagues, the diſtance betwixt Vera-Cruz and Sonora. And thus the mines become relinquiſhed; the ſeparating of the ſilver by quickſilver yielding no advantage, as is acknowledged by a learned Mexican, in conformity to the demonſtration of another able judge, in delivering his opinion on this head. The conſequence of this is, that the province is without thoſe goods from abroad which it wants; or that in exchange for them, it gives thoſe very funds which it ſtands in need of, in manufacturing its ſtaple produce; by which this is entirely at a ſtand, and every thing goes to ruin. The ſecond reaſon of this poverty is, that in America, and much more in Sonora, there is a lamentable want of almoſt all neceſſary and convenient manufactures, trades, and callings. Other European nations, though abounding with ſuch large quantities of various goods and manufactures within themſelves, and an infinite number of products to be diſpoſed of at foreign markets, are yet ſeen vigorouſly to encourage in their American colonies all kinds of trades, manufactures, arts, and handicrafts; well knowing that otherwiſe their plantations would ſoon degenerate into deſerts. Of theſe eſtabliſhments the ſure conſequences are agriculture and graziery, for the ſubſiſtence of the artiſans, and likewiſe for furniſhing them with many materials. Theſe two alone form the true riches of a country, as it conſiſts entirely in a plenty of proviſions, and of inhabitants, and the reciprocal commerce betwixt them. The great Cortes uſed all poſſible endeavours, for introducing into Mexico the whole train of arts and trades, to which Old Spain owed its populouſneſs, wealth, happineſs, and power, eſpecially precepts in retaining the regular and ſalutary motion, which it derived from the catholick kings. Cortes's maxims were followed by a few of the viceroys, as the great archbiſhop Quiroga, couſin to the archbiſhop cardinal of Toledo, of that name, and who by theſe meaſures diffuſed through Mechoacan, that temporal and ſpiritual happineſs which will eternally endear his memory, to thoſe parts: but ſince that time the ſcene is ſadly changed; and Old Spain, though without goods, trades, and manufactures, ſufficient for its own conſumption, receiving, as is well known, ſuch vaſt quantities from abroad, yet muſt furniſh half the world, i. e. America, with moſt of its neceſſaries. The province of Sonora we are ſpeaking of, muſt receive what goods it neither produces nor makes, i. e. all, a few proviſions excepted, not immediately from Europe but from Mexico, after all the riſques and charges of ſix hundred leagues land carriage. What then muſt be the value of a yard of cloth, carried from Holland to Cadiz, from thence exported to Vera Cruz, thence carried to Mexico; and at laſt from the twelfth, or even the twentieth time ſold at Sonora, and perhaps by neceſſity, bought at the price which an unconſcionable dealer is pleaſed to fix on it. Thus as America is in a great meaſure deſtitute of one of the main ſupports of every ſtate, in want of manufactures and handicrafts for home conſumption; and conſequently by reaſon of their intimate connection, little encouragement for agriculture and graziery, great numbers of people, as either without lands, or as unable or unwilling to improve them, not only fall ſhort of that wealth, in purſuit of which they left Europe, but even find themſelves without the means of a decent ſubſiſtence. The mines are generally thought to be the only reſource for acquiring both; many are ſo dazzled by the computation of their products, that they forget to reckon the charges of them; and moſt people, without any regard to the good of the country, or of poſterity, engroſſed by an eager deſire of amaſſing a fortune, in order to return to Europe; and as from the mines are to ariſe the funds for the enormous charges of the works done and to be done, and likewiſe for providing themſelves with all foreign goods: and after theſe expences alſo for profit, this produces a neceſſity of reducing as low as poſſible, the charges of the works; of looking out for tranſported labourers, laying exceſſive taſks on them, putting them off, paying them in bad money, or refuſing to pay them at all, or even ſo much as give them victuals, charge them with crimes they are not guilty of, in order to ſtrip them of what they have already earned, and of haraſſing the poor creatures by oppreſſions of various kinds. In the remote provinces of Sonora, the charges are more than double, and the difficulties greater, beſides the want of every thing, and the impunity of extortion from the vaſt diſtance of the upper tribunals. Farther, no negroes are ſent hither, ſo that only weak and ſpiritleſs Indians are to work in the mines, though a moſt toilſome labour: and for this work, they who are not preſſed as it were to be labourers at the farms, are with no leſs violence, forced away from their miſſions: though there be ſomething of a greater appearance for the former, the mita days, or thoſe in which, according to the laws, the labours of the mines and fields are to be changed, do not ſuffice for the avidity of the owners, who by a thouſand fraudulent practices, engage them at all times: ſo that many who go to the mines, never in their whole lives return again to their native places. It is in vain for the miſſionary to reclaim them; beſides being diſappointed, it is well if the blackeſt calumnies are not raiſed againſt him, or even if he does not ſuffer ſome violence, in countries where the miſchief is generally in thoſe hands where the remedy ſhould be found; and where any recourſe to a higher power is impracticable. If they do appeal, immediately follows a rupture with thoſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance, the converſion was to be carried on; and againſt his information appear great numbers of others, by which his cauſe, however juſt, is overthrown, and he is ſuſpended, if not totally rejected, without waiting for the opinion of the government. In the mean time, the gentile Indians, who are yet free, haughtily refuſe to become ſubject to the yoke of the goſpel, when they ſee their converts forced into ſuch a wretched ſlavery.

Thoſe alſo who have been reduced, are often provoked to a revolt; and, even in the profoundeſt tranquility, have been charged with inſurrections, that, under this pretence, an armed force might be ſent againſt them, to rouſe them to an oppoſition: and then to take them priſoners, and as a puniſhment are condemned to work for life in the mines; or at the farm houſes. Such proceedings decreaſe the number of Indians; eſpecially as they often procure relief from their miſeries by their own hands. The country being thus deprived of its greateſt advantages, lies, notwithſtanding its inexhauſtible mines of ſilver and fertility, in the moſt wretched poverty.

Father Euſebius Franciſco Kino entered in the year 1687, the province of Sonora; being appointed to the only miſſion then ſubſiſting, and bordering on the Indians of Pimeria Alta, a province extending above one hundred leagues N. of Sonora, and weſtward to the gulf of California. He laboured in the miſſion and reduction of the Indians, with a zeal truly worthy of admiration; went undauntedly alone among them, formed them into villages, prevailed on them to ſow their lands and take care of their cattle: as the means of keeping them together, and employing ſubordinate agents for their civil polity. He had the patience to learn the different languages, tranſlated the catechiſm and prayers, which without being diſguſted by their indocility and dullneſs, he taught them verbally. He likewiſe compoſed vocabularies and obſervations, for the uſe of his aſſiſtants and ſucceſſors: and ſuch were the happy effects of his wonderful mildneſs and condeſcenſion, that they all loved him and confided in him as their general father. He built houſes and chapels, formed villages and towns; reconciled nations who were at enmity: and had he, according to his repeated requeſt, been ſeconded by other miſſionaries, the converſion of all the nations, betwixt Sonora and the rivers Gila and Colorado, might have been eaſily accompliſhed, and the miſſions of New Spain and California, have carried on an intercourſe by land; a deſign which always appeared extremely difficult. But the hardſhips which this worthy man ſuffered from the Indians were the leaſt, or rather not to be compared to thoſe he met with from ſome Spaniards, againſt whoſe violences he was as a wall of braſs, in favour of his converts. They obſtructed his enterpriſes and prevented his being aſſiſted by others, it being their intereſt, that the poor Pimas ſhould be branded with the name of rebels and enemies, that they might commit depredations among them, and force the Indians to ſerve them as ſlaves. Beſides, the farms already ſettled, in order to ſupport the civil government of the Indians and their miniſters, after ſuch labours and fatigues as cannot be eaſily conceived, ſoon fell to decay: for it was father Kino alone, who had been able to obtain from the audience of Guadalaxara, that the new converts among the Indians, ſhould not, during the firſt five years of their converſion, be obliged to work either on the lands or in the mines; though Charles II. from his regard to religion, was pleaſed by an order dated the 14th of May 1686, to prolong theſe five years to twenty; but this was never obſerved, and the father had the mortification to ſee thoſe he had baptiſed, drawn from the mountains and deſerts, and inſtructed with infinite pains, forcibly dragged from him to be buried in the depths of a mine, whence few ever return. Beſides theſe methods for drawing them from the miſſions, they ſuffered them in the mines and farms to be guilty of the moſt abominable exceſſes, which the fathers took care to reſtrain in their habitations: yet notwithſtanding ſo many formidable oppoſitions, father Kino in the year 1690, when father Salva-Tierra, then viſitor of the miſſions, came into Pimeria, ſhewed him ſeveral new villages he had founded; and the promiſing diſpoſitions he had made, for baptiſing the Pimas and other more diſtant nations.

As both theſe miſſionaries were deſirous, if poſſible, to enter California, it was agreed, that father Kino ſhould endeavour to procure aſſiſtants on the coaſt of Pimeria and Sonora, in order to make the firſt eſſay in theſe provinces, and from thence to ſupply the barrenneſs of California, confiding in the hearty affection which he every where found in the Indians. Accordingly, father Kino the following year penetrated as far as the coaſt, and in that part of the country of the Pimas called Soba, he built, in the year 1694, a ſmall veſſel, in which he came to the bay called Santa Sabina. He alſo founded, in a convenient ſituation, twenty-two leagues up the country, the miſſion of la Concepcion de Caborca. In the year 1698, on father Salva-Tierra's entrance into California, father Kino in the month of September, left his miſſion of Dolores, and after going northward as far as the river Gila, viſiting by the way the rancherias of his catechumens, among the Pimas, Opas, and as far as la Encarnacion and San Andres, he continued his journey, and at eighty leagues from San Andres, came to the gulf of California, where, in thirty-two degrees north latitude he found a creek, abounding with freſh water and wood, formerly called the bay of Santa Clara, lying near the lofty ridge of mountains of that name. From hence he took a view of the coaſt ſouthward to the bay of Santa Sabina; whence he went to Caborca, and from thence returned to his miſſion of Dolores, after travelling above 300 leagues through a rugged uncultivated country, and the inhabitants deſtitute of all religion. Father Kino ſent an account of this journey to his ſuperiors, and to the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, from whom he received thanks for his intrepidity and labours, to promote the common good of thoſe conqueſts. In the following years father Kino made ſeveral other progreſſes, equally long, difficult, and dangerous: ſometimes to viſit his catechumens to confirm them in the faith, and inſtruct them in what was further neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence, and the regularity of their commodities; ſometimes he was accompanied by captain Mattheo Mange, in order to confute the calumnies and falſe reports, and quiet inſurrections. In his laſt excurſions he was attended by the fathers Antonio Leal, and Franciſco Gozalvo, with a deſign of going among the Apaches, who, however, famous for ferocity, at that time moved by the reputation of father Kino, had deſired ſome fathers to be ſent among them for their inſtruction. This journey was, however, rendered abortive, and the moſt favourable opportunity of civilizing thoſe ſavages, abſolutely loſt. Amidſt theſe important concerns, this great man took care, by the products of his villages, and of the other miſſions of the province, to ſupply the want of proviſions in California, from the harbours of San Joſeph de Guaymas, and that of Hiaqui: and in other things ſhewed himſelf an alert and prudent agent for theſe miſſions.

However ſurpriſing this may appear, yet father Kino's intrepidity was not to be limited. In all theſe toilſome progreſſes, and many others through unknown countries, whither his undaunted ſpirit had carried him, he was always deſirous of knowing whether California was united to the continent of New Spain, or whether the gulf continued its direction northward till it iſſued into the South-ſea above cape Mendocino, and forming one of the largeſt iſlands in the world. Being a conſummate geographer, he was not ignorant that it was formerly conſidered as part of the continent. But he alſo knew that ever ſince the time of Drake, the Engliſh navigator, the contrary opinion had prevailed; and that all the moderns placed it as an iſland, there being extant alſo ſome journals of mariners, according to which they went round California through a ſtreight, and gave the parts and places along which they paſſed their own names. Nor was the father inſenſible of the great importance of ſolving this geographical problem, and of the advantages which would reſult to the conqueſt, by carrying on the Sonora and Californian miſſions northward,

ward, till they ſhould meet; and thus be of mutual aſſiſtance to each other by land. Accordingly in the year 1700, he reſolved to viſit his Neophites, and penetrate as far as poſſible, in order to aſcertain this junction, which, from the anſwers and accounts of the Indians, he was inclined to believe.

On the 24th of September 1700, he ſet out from his miſſion of Dolores; and having viſited the villages de Los Remedios, and San Simon and Judas, he came to San Ambroſio del Buſanio Tucubabia and Santa Tulalia, having previouſly ſpent ſome time with 300 Indians, who on a miſſionary being ſent them, offered to incorporate themſelves with thoſe of Buſaſani; ſix leagues farther 40 Indians came out to meet him, and at the ſame diſtance farther, he came to the village della Merced; twenty leagues farther, he found the village of San Geronymo and four rancherias: at the diſtance of five leagues he came to a piece of water, and met with another 12 leagues farther; and after travelling 10 other leagues, he found himſelf at the river Gila. Its ſource riſes in the country of the Apaches, from whence it runs eaſt and weſt in above 44 degrees of latitude. And after receiving the waters of the river Azul, it loſes itſelf in the famous river Colorado. The father followed the courſe of the river for 50 leagues, his attendants being a mixture of Pimas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas: and after paſſing through ſeveral rancherias of theſe nations, he came to the Yumas, who live on the fartheſt banks of the river Gila, before its conflux with the Colorado; and likewiſe thoſe on the eaſtern ſide of that great river. Here he aſcended a mountain of remarkable height, which however afforded him no ſight of the ſea; nor could he, though aſſiſted by a good teleſcope, diſcover any thing but land. In the farther proſecution of his journey, he came to that part of the country where the river Gila joins the Colorado, near which they told him, the four nations called the Quiquimas, the Bagiopas, the Hobonomas, and Cutguanes had their reſidence. At the requeſt of the Yumas, he proceeded to the junction of the two rivers; croſſed the Gila, which here is very large, and divided into three branches, and ten or twelve leagues farther, came to a fertile ſpot of land in 35 degrees, lying in an angle formed by the junction of theſe two rivers, to which he gave the name of San Dionyſio. Here above 1500 perſons came to ſee him in a body; and on being examined, they all agreed that there was no ſea near the country; for many of them living on the weſt ſide of the Colorado, had often ſwam acroſs the river. They entreated him that he would likewiſe viſit the country; but it was not thought prudent to comply, from the ſcarcity of proviſions, wearineſs, ſickneſs, and diſcontent of the Pimas. So that after a great many kind expreſſions, and a few ſmall preſents, he returned to the place where he had firſt taken view of the country. Here he aſcended the higheſt mountain of the whole chain, from whence, by the help of his teleſcope, he had a diſtinct view of the mountains of California, and perceived, that after the conflux of the two rivers at San Dionyſio, the Colorado run ten leagues towards the S. W. and 20 more ſouthward, till it diſcharges itſelf into the gulf of California. He continued his journey to Caborca by a new route, and at the end of October, arrived at his miſſion of Dolores, after a journey of about 400 leagues.

Father Kino was now convinced that California was connected to the continent of America, the great river Colorado only intervening, and accordingly publiſhed the diſcovery, and the commandant of Sonora, in the king's name, and the ſuperiors of his order, formally returned him thanks.

Father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra, who in the ſame month came from California, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance among the miſſions and garriſons of Sonora, was greatly pleaſed at this account;

count; and by letters, and ſince in perſon, congratulated father Kino. But this diſcovery being founded only on a diſtant view, father Salva-Tierra exhorted father Kino to undertake a ſecond journey, that he might perſonally prove the truth of it, judging that the whole welfare of his Californian miſſion depended upon it. He even deſired him to croſs from Sonora, to the river Colorado; and after following the courſe of that river, to proceed along the coaſt of California to the garriſon of Loretto. Father Kino readily agreed to the invitation, and though it ſuffered a delay of ſome days, on account of the inroads of the lawleſs Apaches, in the village of Cucurpe, and the neighbouring country; the fathers at length ſet out from the miſſion de Dolores, on the 1ſt of March 1701, and as they took different ways, in order to viſit the catechumens, Concepcion de Caborca was appointed for their rendezvous. Father Salva-Tierra went by San Ignacio, in order to reach the river Caborca, the courſe of which he followed through Tibutama, Axi, San Diepo de Uquitoa, and San Diepo de Pitquin, till he arrived at the rendezvous. Father Kino took a circuit by Cocoſpera, San Simon and Judas, till at San Ambroſio de Buſanio, he came to the ſame river of Caborca, and kept along its banks through Sarrii, Tibutama, and other villages to Caborca. From hence they ſet out together northward, attended by 10 ſoldiers, and came to San Eduardo de Baiſſia, and San Luis de Bacapa: at the latter they were met by the Marcos de Niza, provincial of the Franciſcans, as he himſelf mentions in his account of the ſeven cities of Cibola. Twelve leagues farther brought them to San Marcelo, the only ſpot on all that coaſt and the adjacent parts for ſettling a miſſion, the ſoil being very fit both for tillage and paſture, and abounding with water for all uſes. This place, according to father Kino's obſervations, lies 50 leagues ſouth of Caborca, 50 north of the river Gila, and at the ſame diſtance eaſtward from San Xavier del Bac; bearing N. W. from the mouth of the river Colorado.

At San Marcelo, they met with an agreeable anſwer to the meſſages ſent to the Quicimas, ſome of whom came to meet them at a ſpring eight leagues from San Marcelo. By theſe they learned that there were two ways by which they might paſs to the mouth of the Colorado; the one over valleys, mountains, and long circuits to the left of the mountains of Santa Clara, the other ſhorter by the way of the coaſt, leaving thoſe mountains to the right, along ſands of a great extent to the river.

The Indians perhaps, as they are inured to travel with baggage or proviſions, were not aware of the difficulty of paſſing the ſands. However the fathers choſe the way along the coaſt, as it was proper to take a view of it. But this choice in a great meaſure fruſtated the intentions of the journey. After travelling 30 leagues in queſt of the ſea, they came to a ſmall rancheria; and leaving on the north the great mountain of Santa Clara, whoſe ſides for the length of half a league, are covered with pumice ſtone, they arrived at the ſandy waſte on the 19th of March. On the 20th captain Juan Matheo Mange and father Kino, aſcended a lofty mountain, whence they not only ſaw the ſea, but alſo the oppoſite coaſt and mountains of California, and found the latitude to be 30 degrees. On the 21ſt they reached the ſhore; but being without water or proviſions, they found it impoſſible to proceed along the ſand, and accordingly returned to San Marcelo, from whence they ſet out again, but taking a higher way, and in 32 degrees 35 minutes, aſcended a hill of no extraordinary height; but about an hour before ſun ſet, they had, from its ſummit a clear view of the cordillera of California; particularly the hills of Meſcal and Azul. Here they alſo clearly diſcovered, beyond all poſſibility of doubt, the junction of California, and Pimeria Alta, and the gulf of California terminating at the mouth of the Rio Colorado. This father Kino affirms in his MSS. narratives, and in proof of it, alledged the accounts of captain Juan Matheo Mange, printed in French; though I have not been able to procure them either in that or the Spaniſh language.

There is however, no occaſion for this voucher, father Salva-Tierra ſaying the ſame thing in a letter dated at Loretto the 29th of Auguſt 1701, wherein he mentions the diſcovery and its advantages to the father general Thurſo Gonzales.

"I acquainted you, reverend father, that having landed on the other ſide of New Spain, I travelled along thoſe coaſts till from the unanimous informations of the Indians, I had reaſon to believe that New Spain and California were united; but willing to have further ſatisfaction with regard to a matter of ſuch importance, I continued my journey, till from a mountain, and that no very high one, I obſerved the woody mountains of California joined to thoſe of New Spain. This diſcovery I owe to the holy virgin of Loretto; and I intend a more circumſtantial account, which I hope ſoon will be in your hands. I brought with me father Euſebio Franciſco Kino, who I hope, after this voyage, will go in perſon to thoſe parts, which we have only ſeen at a great diſtance, being in about 32 deg. latitude. This excurſion at preſent ſeems of little advantage, on account of the diſtance from 26 degrees, where we were in California, to above 32, where the gulf ſeems to cloſe. Theſe however, are ſteps by which within a few years California may come to be the ſoul of this kingdom, the main ſource of its opulence, the ſcene of chearful induſtry; and accordingly I conclude that you will charge all perſons that they continue to defend and aſſiſt us in theſe miſſions of Nueſtra Sennora de Loretto de Californias."

There they found the greateſt part of the Indians, who, the preceding year had met at San Dionyſio, above the conflux of the rivers; and from theſe they knew that it was ſtill 30 leagues from the ſand. The proviſions now grew ſhort: ſo that not without running the riſque of the greateſt dangers, father Kino returned to San Marcelo to build a church, and give directions concerning a new miſſion. And Salva-Tierra to Caborca, Dolores, and the other miſſions of Sonora, in order to collect charities which he carried to the river Hiaqui; and from thence at the latter end of April to Loretto.

This ſection cannot in juſtice to father Kino be concluded, without taking notice of his unwearied ſervices in order to aſcertain the junction of thoſe countries, and obtain the reconciliation of new nations, by diſpoſing them to receive the goſpel.

In November of the ſame year 1701, he went to San Marcelo, a different way from the former, thence to the river Gila, which he forded at San Dionyſio near its influx into the Colorado; he afterwards repaſſed the Gila and followed the courſe of the Colorado by the rancherias of the Yumas and Quinquimas, to the diſtance of 20 leagues. Here ſuch a vaſt multitude of Indians came to meet him, that a Spaniſh lad ran away for fear. In this part the river Colorado is about 200 yards broad. The Indians croſs it by ſwimming, and puſhing before them their coryſtas, a ſort of trough or veſſel made of ruſhes and herbs, in which they carry a buſhel or two of maize; and theſe are of ſo cloſe a texture that the contents are never damaged by the water. Here father Kino made a balza of pieces of trees, and having to the wonder of the Indians, croſſed the river on it, found on its weſtern ſhore great numbers of Indians of different tribes, as Quinquimas, Coanopas, Bagiopas, and Cetguanes, to whom for the firſt time, by means of interpreters among the Pimas, he preached the goſpel. He travelled on foot three leagues along the country, till he came to the reſidence of the caſique of the Quinquimas.

quimas. Here he found all the country level, intermixed with woods, and the ſoil fit for tillage and graziery. The number of ſouls in this neighbourhood, to which he gave the name of Preſentation de Nueſtra Sennora, he computed at 10,000. Here they offered him a great many azure ſhells, which are only found on the oppoſite coaſt of California; and on enquiring after the South-ſea, he was informed that it was but a journey of ten days. Father Kino was extremely deſirous of traverſing the whole country to Monte-Rey, or cape Mendocino. But there was no boat for carrying the beaſts over the river: and without them ſuch a journey was not to be undertaken: ſo that he was obliged to content himſelf with writing to father Salva-Tierra at Loretto, which he judged to be about 130 leagues from that place. His letters he truſted to the Quinquimas, but they never came to hand. And now ſatisfied with the diſcovery of ſo many nations he returned, viſiting by the way the many villages he had before ſettled.

In February 1702, father Kino made his laſt effort, accompanied with father Martin Gonzales, a miſſionary, who voluntarily offered to attend him in a journey of ſuch labour and hardſhip, as only to be borne by the vigour and intrepidity of Kino. On the 28th they arrived at San Dionyſio, at the junction of the two rivers, inſtructing great numbers, who flocked to him from all parts. In March they advanced as far as the rancheria of Quinquimas, to which they gave the name of San Rudeſindo. Here the Indians ſhew'd a very aſtoniſhing affability and gentleneſs; and expreſſed ſo much love for the fathers, and even for the beaſts, that father Gonzales diſtributed among them part of his own apparel. They continued their journey down the river Colorado ſouthward, till they came to its mouth, and the ſea coaſt. Here many Indians came from the weſtern banks of the river, intreating them that they would paſs over into their country. Of theſe they enquired about the nations, mountains, and rivers, of the oppoſite ſide, And were here again confirmed, that ten days would bring them to the ſhore of the South-ſea. The night of the 10th they paſſed at the very mouth of the river, that at high-water the tide came very near their beds. A balza was begun for croſſing the river, but the cumbrance of the beaſts, the breadth of the river, the rapidity of the current, and eſpecially the illneſs of father Gonzales, by continual fatigue, occaſioned that deſign to be dropped; and all he could do was to return with his ſick brother. Father Kino was for croſſing the ſand as the ſhorteſt way, and at the ſame time take a ſurvey of the coaſt as far as San Marcelo. But he found it impracticable, and accordingly returned with all the haſte father Gonzales's caſe required, to the miſſion of Tibutama, where he loſt his fellow-traveller, whoſe zeal was too ſtrong for his conſtitution. In the following years father Kino was wholly taken up with promoting and cementing the miſſions begun in Pimeria, amidſt very ſevere perſecutions raiſed againſt him and his converts; and being without any one to aſſiſt him in ſo wide a province, and inhabited by new chriſtians and catechumens, he was obliged to be continually travelling hard from one part to another. But it was not till the year 1706 that he returned towards the Rio Colorado, when he made an entrance into that country with the chief military officers of Savora, who by order of the governor were ſent to view the country, and with them Manuel de Ojuela, a Franciſcan. They found it the ſame as at the former entrances, on which they returned, and father Kino, with the ſame dauntleſs zeal, repaired to his miſſion, where he continued till the year 1710, when he paſſed from theſe earthly abodes to the manſions of eternity.

SECT. VI.

New reſolutions in CALIFORNIA, and the progreſs of its miſſions till the end of the year 1703.

The arrival of father Juan Maria Salva-Tierra at Loretto, gave inexpreſſible joy to all, as they conſidered him as their common father: but father Ugarte, as knowing him beſt, and being moſt intimate with him, received him with particular tranſports of joy. At firſt he had not a licence from the ſuperiors to remain in California; but from his extreme deſire of aſſiſting in the new miſſion to the pagans, he obtained it through the intereſt of father Salva-Tierra, who came very opportunely for admitting him as his colleague, though thoroughly ſenſible of the want of ſo active an agent at Mexico. It was immediately agreed, that father Piccolo ſhould go to New Spain to have the bark at Matanchel repaired, and negociate the common affairs of the miſſion. Accordingly he put to ſea twice, but was both times driven back by foul weather: ſo that the voyage was laid aſide till a more favourable ſeaſon. On this father Piccolo returned to attend his miſſion of San Xavier; and father Ugarte remained with Salva-Tierra, at Loretto, in order to learn the language and aſſiſt where there ſhould be the greateſt occaſion.

Captain don Antonio Garcia de Mendoza, ſtill continued by his diſcontent to diſturb the garriſon, and to bring an odium upon it among the men in power: but ſeeing that after all his repeated complaints, no order came from Mexico to except him from a ſubordination to the fathers; and that theſe on the other hand, would not permit him to oppreſs the Indians by forcing them to the pearl-fiſhery, and other laborious employments for his advantage, he thought proper to throw up his commiſſion.

This father Salva-Tierra was very far from objecting to, and nominated in his ſtead as his lieutenant, Iſidoro de Figuerva, who not long after ſhewed himſelf unworthy of his preferment by a remarkable action: for the Indians of Vigge Biaundo, at the inſtigation of their prieſts and phyſicians, ſuddenly formed a deſign of murdering father Piccolo, and deſtroying his little habitation and chapel. In order to this a conſiderable number came down with great violence, that the brave reſiſtance made by a few who remained faithful, proved ineffectual, but the father had providentially left the houſe ſome time before. Enraged at their diſappointment they attacked the houſe and chapel, which they deſtroyed, together with all the furniture of both. Informed of the havock by a faithful Indian, he withdrew to Loretto. Vigge however was not to be forſaken, being the moſt proper part for ſowing of all the land yet diſcovered; the public ſafety alſo required that ſuch an attempt ſhould not paſs without animadverſions. Accordingly the lieutenant marched with a party of ſoldiers, but the Indians at ſight of them fled from their rancheria. The ſoldiers were for following them, but this, on account of the breaches, was oppoſed. The party returned ſo diſcontented with their leader as to occaſion a private choice of a captain, which, by a great majority, went in favour of the Portugueſe, don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, who worthily filled that poſt till the year 1740. But the Indians ſeeing the low ſtate of the garriſon, obſerved no meaſures, that when the ſoldiers were whipping a Cinaloa Indian who had been treacherouſly concerned in the rebellion of San Xavier, ſome of that rancheria feigning to have no ill deſign, came near the camp, and ſhot ſome arrows at the captain and the company who purſued them to no purpoſe. Afterwards it was found neceſſary to pardon them, that the wound might not bleed afreſh: and likewiſe becauſe they had readily complied with the conditions preſcribed them.

At the end of the ſame year 1700, father Ugarte having obtained at a ſufficient acquaintance with the language of the country, and the Vigge Indians ſhewing themſelves quiet and ſatisfied, this miſſion was by no means to be forſaken; and father Piccolo being to go to New Spain, Salva-Tierra inveſted father Ugarte with the miſſion. Accordingly he ſet out with ſome ſoldiers, but his fortitude was ſoon put to the trial. The Indians either from diſaffection, or for fear of the ſoldiers, fled up the country, ſo that for ſeveral days not one of them was to be ſeen. The ſoldiers became very troubleſome to the father, becauſe they had no Indians to wait upon them, nor would he allow that they ſhould go in ſearch of them, leſt they ſhould do them ſome injury, that at length wearied with their inſolences, he determined to diſcharge them and remain alone among ſavages, and half reconciled enemies, committing the whole to providence. Thus he ſpent the day; and at the cloſe of the night a boy came as a ſpy to the door of the college; the father received and kindly entertained him, ſo that he returned to his countrymen with a meſſage deſiring that they would come, the ſoldiers being all gone. The Indians followed one another, that after an aſtoniſhing patience and ſufferings, he had the pleaſure of ſeeing all his flock together:

and now he began to lay a more ſolid foundation for that miſſion. But he undertook two deſigns both equally difficult. The firſt to teach and inſtruct the Indians, mildly gaining them to be preſent every day at the maſs, the roſary, and the catechiſing; and alienating them from their ſorcerers, or deceitful prieſts. The ſecond was to accuſtom them to till the land, and take care of the cattle; to civilize ſavages uſed to perpetual ſloth, and ſeeking their food among the woods. The ſtability and continuance of his new miſſion depended principally on procuring a ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his Indians, without depending on the uncertain ſuccours from the coaſt of New Spain: and this proviſion was of equal neceſſity to the garriſon of Loretto, which was every day in danger of being deſtroyed by famine; not only their cloaths and other neceſſaries, but even the very daily food being brought thither from the oppoſite coaſt, acroſs a ſea frequently very boiſterous, and in a bark and boat, both in a very crazy condition. Loretto had ſo very little ground for ſowing, that the only improvement made there was a garden of fruit trees and pot herbs; but the produce was ſcarce any thing for ſuch a number: father Ugarte therefore, who had land ſufficient and of a good kind, took upon him to inſure the common relief, at leaſt, for the moſt urgent neceſſity, excluſive of the maintenance of his Indians. The fatigues of body and mind, which it muſt coſt him, among ſuch a fickle, brutiſh ſet of mortals, are hardly conceivable, although too common in the ſettlement of every new miſſion.

We ſhall however mention a few particulars, from which ſome idea may be formed of the care and labour which attend theſe noble enterprizes.

In the morning after ſaying maſs, and at which he obliged them to attend with order and reſpect, he gave a breakfaſt of pozoli to thoſe who were to work, ſet them about building the church and houſes for himſelf and his Indians, clearing the ground for cultivation, making trenches for the conveyance of water, holes for planting trees, or digging and preparing the ground for ſowing. In the building part father Ugarte was maſter, overſeer, carpenter, bricklayer, and labourer. For the Indians, though animated by his example, could neither by gifts or kind ſpeeches, be prevailed upon to ſhake off their innate ſloth; and were ſure to ſlacken if they did not ſee the father work harder than any of them: ſo that he was the firſt in fetching ſtones, treading the clay, mixing the ſand, cutting, carrying and barking the timber; removing the earth, and fixing materials. He was equally laborious in the other taſks, ſometimes felling trees with his ax, ſometimes with his ſpade in his hand digging up the earth, ſometimes with an iron crow ſplitting rocks, ſometimes diſpoſing the water trenches, ſometimes leading the beaſts and cattle which he had procured for his miſſion to paſture and water: thus by his own example, teaching the ſeveral kinds of labour. The Indians whoſe narrow ideas and dullneſs could not at firſt enter into the utility of theſe fatigues, which at the ſame time deprived them of their cuſtomary freedom of roving among the foreſts. On a thouſand occaſions they ſufficiently tried his patience, coming late, not caring to ſtir, running away, jeering him, and ſometimes even forming combinations, and threatening death and deſtruction: all this was to be borne with unwearied patience, having no other recourſe than affability and kindneſs, ſometimes intermixed with gravity to ſtrike reſpect; alſo taking care not to tire them, and ſuit himſelf to their weakneſs.

In the evening the father led them a ſecond time to their devotions; in which the roſary was prayed over, and the catechiſm explained; and the ſervice was followed by the diſtribution of ſome proviſions. At firſt they were very troubleſome all the time of the ſermon, jeſting and ſneering at what he ſaid. This the father bore with for a while, and then proceeded to reprove them: but finding they were not to be kept in order, he made a very dangerous experiment of what could be done by fear. Near him ſtood an Indian in high reputation for ſtrength; and who preſuming on this advantage, the only quality eſteemed among them, took upon himſelf to be more rude than the others. Father Ugarte who was a large man, and of uncommon ſtrength, obſerving the Indian to be in the height of his laughter, and making ſigns of mockery to the others, ſeized him by the hair and lifting him up, ſwang him to and fro: at this the reſt ran away in the utmoſt terror: they ſoon returned one after another, and the father ſo far ſucceeded to intimate them, that they behaved more regularly for the future. But he being informed that their unſeaſonable mirth was owing to the miſtakes he committed in the words and pronunciation, he applied himſelf to improve in both by means of boys, having experienced that the men, beſides their obſtinacy impoſed upon him, in order afterwards to laugh at him. However the work from the ſtupidity and ſloth of theſe unhappy creatures, went on very ſlowly. But every difficulty is ſurmountable by the labour and perſeverance of an aſſiduous and reſolute man, who toils for the glory of his maker.

In the ſucceeding years father Ugarte ſaw the happy fruits of his patience, having not only brought the Indians to the knowledge of the chriſtian doctrine, and a decent attendance at divine worſhip, but likewiſe to a ſuitable life without any of the diſorders of their ſavage ſtate. He inured their indocile ſloth to labour, and he had plentiful harveſts of wheat, maize, and other grains: he may be ſaid to have ſurmounted impoſſibilities, in watering and cultivating craggy and rugged grounds. He even made a conſiderable quantity of generous wine; of which, after ſupplying the miſſions in California, ſome was ſent New Spain in exchange for other goods. He likewiſe bred horſes and ſheep, and was indeed, the purveyor general of the garriſons and miſſions, who without the aſſiſtance of father Ugarte's fortitude and induſtry, could not have ſubſiſted: but no difficulty deterred him; and at laſt he brought his labours to the intended iſſue, and under a long courſe of obſtructions and impediments, he ſaw his wiſhes happily accompliſhed.

In the year 1707, all New Spain ſuffered extremely for want of rain: Cinaloa and Sonora were likewiſe reduced to great diſtreſs; California

fornia alſo had been without rain. Yet father Ugarte, writing to don Joſeph de Miranda, on the 9th of June, tells him, "It is now two months ſince ſeamen and landmen eat here good bread of our own harveſts, while the poor on the other coaſt, in Cinaloa and Sonora, are periſhing. Who would have dreamed of any ſuch thing?"

Theſe harveſts, though not ſufficient for the whole year, ſerved for leſſening the charges, and for relief in exigencies like this, even after proviſion was made for the ſubſiſtence of the Indians, the garriſons and the miſſions. But at once to give a full idea of the induſtry and zeal of this religious man, we ſhall add what he did in the following years, for cloathing his naked Indians. His ſheep, brought originally from the other coaſt, being ſufficiently increaſed, that his Indians might make the beſt uſe of their wooll, he determined to teach them the method of preparing, ſpinning, and weaving it for cloaths. Accordingly, he himſelf made the diſtaffs, ſpinning wheels, and looms. Though to forward and improve ſo beneficial a ſcheme, he ſent to Tepique for one Antonio Moran, a maſter weaver, and allowed him a ſalary of five hundred dollars. Moran ſtaid ſeveral years in California, till he had ſufficiently inſtructed the Indians in their trade and ſome other handicrafts. By theſe new manufactures, he ſaved the vaſt expences of ſail cloth and bays, a meaſure both political and pious: and the only one which, if imitated in Spain and America, for the conſumption of its manufactures of all kinds, may retrieve its poverty and depopulation, to the infinite advantage of the ſtate; the misfortunes and diſgraces of which, ariſe principally from the want of encouragement, and conſequently the want of induſtry in manufactories of goods, in exchange for which, both worlds are drained to enrich our enemies. Theſe advantages, which were the works of years carried on by the zeal of father Ugarte, whoſe example, where poſſible, has been followed by the miſſionaries, were the more valuable from the ſtreights, famines, and dangers of the firſt years. It was now the end of the year 1701, and with it ended all the proviſions of the garriſon of Loretto; and thus father Piccolo's departure was haſtened, both to give account of the neceſſity, and aſk ſupply along the coaſt of New Spain: and likewiſe that in Guadalaxara and Mexico, he might be a witneſs of what was ſeen to make ſo very little impreſſion when ſhewn upon paper. It was the 26th of December when this father embarked, the fathers Ugarte and Salva-Tierra remaining with the people of the garriſon, under great ſtreights, which laſted till the 29th of January 1702, when the boat returned loaded with maize, meal, and other proviſions. But this ſupply did not laſt long, for as captain Rodrigues Lorenzo ſays in his journal, "the venerable father Salva-Tierra's benevolence in his donations to the Indians, was ſuch, that in a ſhort time our neceſſity returned upon us." In the following ſpring and ſummer, their want became very alarming, the ſupply they expected at this ſeaſon having failed, as indeed it depended only on one bark, which took up time in repairing, beſides that of collecting and loading the proviſions, and frequently of ſtruggling with bad weather. The allowances had for ſome time been reduced: but at length the whole ſtock of proviſions was ſpent, except ſome fleſh ſcarce fit for uſe, that now they were under a neceſſity of procuring their food like the Indians; looking out along the ſhore for what fiſh they could pick up, and ranging along the mountains for pitahayas and other fruits and roots; father Ugarte always being the firſt in all labours and contrivances for ſubſiſting the people.

There is no reading without a ſenſible ſympathy, the letters of the fathers, when they deſcend into particulars, about the famine and diſtreſſes which they laboured under, and their various means of preſerving their lives. Their melancholy condition was aggravated by an inſurrection of the Indians, proceeding from the indiſcretion of a ſoldier called Poblano. He had that year married an Indian woman of the country, and who had been baptiſed: in the month of June, her mother came to the camp, and prevailed on her to quit her huſband, and go with her to partake of the dances and diverſions among the Indians at that time, being the gathering of the pitahayas. The daughter was but too ready to liſten to any propoſals for a party of pleaſure, and both ſtole away in the night-time unperceived. The ſoldier, on miſſing his wife, aſked leave of the captain to go in ſearch of her and bring her back. The captain conſented, but limited him to a certain diſtance. The ſoldier went with a comrade, and not finding her, returned. But his love or reſentment was ſuch, that within a few days he went with a Californian Indian, to a rancheria, where he heard a great deal of ſhouting and noiſy merriment. An old Indian whom he happened to meet, being informed of the motive of his coming, adviſed him by all means to go back, as otherwiſe his life would be in great danger. The ſoldier blinded by paſſion, inſulted the Indian, which he could not bear, ſo that the ſoldier ſhot him dead on the ſpot.

At the noiſe of the muſket, the Indians came running up from the rancheria, and immediately killed the ſoldier with their arrows. Nor did his companion, the Californian, eſcape without a wound, but returned to give an account of the affair at the camp. On this, the captain ſent notice to the fathers who were at Londo, that they might retire to Loretto. He ordered three ſoldiers who were at Santa Roſalia, the viſitation village of San Xavier de Vigge, to be upon their guard; and he himſelf marched with a part in queſt of the Indians, whilſt theſe, knowing the weakneſs of the garriſon, had ſpirited up almoſt every rancheria, to join in a general inſurrection. In this expedition our men ſuffered extremely, from hunger and a fatigue of marching among mountains, precipices, and breaches: ſome ſkirmiſhes happened, in which four or five of the inſurgents fell. Father Ugarte had ſowed ſome maize, and the firſt harveſt of it was very ſoon expected; but the Indians fell on it and quite deſtroyed it, and would have done the ſame with the chapel and houſe, if they had not found them guarded by ſome ſoldiers and Indians. But their cruelty farther diſcharged itſelf on a few goats, the milk of which, was the fathers chief ſupport in their extremity. The numbers and violence of the natives was daily increaſing, and diſtreſs and conſternation among our men; when happily the bark arrived with a ſupply of proviſions and a few ſoldiers. This contributed by degrees to appeaſe the diſturbances, and the revolted Indians by the mediation of friends were reconciled, and tranquility ſeemed again to take place.

Among the diſagreeable circumſtances of California, it was not the leaſt, that no account had been received of father Piccolo, who, as we have ſaid, had gone to New Spain. This father, after taking meaſures in Cinaloa, for the ſpeedy ſuccour of his collegues in the miſſion, went to Guadalaxara, where he had an account of the three favourable ſchedules abovementioned; by which king Philip V. ordered an aſſignment of ſix thouſand crowns for that conqueſt, requiring an account of its condition and progreſs. The royal audience of Guadalaxara, directed him purſuant to theſe orders, to lay an account before them of the whole, which the father did in a writing dated the 10th of February 1702, and which was ſoon afterwards printed at Mexico. To this as added the depoſition of three witneſſes, who had been in California. Having concluded theſe and other affairs, he ſet out for Mexico in the beginning of March, three months before the royal ſchedule had come to hand; and father Alexandro Romano, had actually preſented a memorial to the governor, requeſting the payment of ſix thouſand dollars, ſetting forth, at the ſame time, the extreme neceſſity and danger both of the garriſon and the fathers; but without obtaining any anſwer. On the arrival of father Piccolo, a memorial was preſented; and this was ſent to the treaſurer. But though he confirmed the whole truth of the requeſt, only three thouſand dollars were ordered to be advanced: and when he brought this order to the caſhier's office, he was told that it could not be paid, as by an order from Spain, of 1696, no payment was to be made, without ſpecifying the branch of the revenue, out of which it was to be taken. This the fathers complained of, as his majeſty's intention was ſo clearly expreſſed. The treaſurer ſtood their friend, and in an aſſembly of the 29th of April, after all their witneſſes and papers were examined, an order was given to pay them the ſix thouſand dollars. But their other petition for a veſſel, ſix ſoldiers and three miſſionaries, was put off, till an account was ſent to his majeſty, together with the memorial and other writings relating to California.

Father Piccolo had received the ſum of money appointed for the pay of the garriſon, and with the benevolences he could collect, he purchaſed the goods deſired in the memorials, and got ready a relief for the moſt urgent neceſſities: none was ſo great as that of the miſſionaries, which touched the heart of don Joſeph de la Puente, marquis de Villa Puente, a nobleman whoſe amazing charity muſt for ever endear his memory to all mankind: Europe, America, and Aſia, had felt the happy effects of his diffuſive benevolence: and now he offered immediately to ſupport three miſſions, and don Nicolas de Arteaga and his lady, had offered to found another.

The funds being thus ſecured for the maintenance of four miſſions, father Piccolo waited on the provincial Franciſco de Arteaga, deſiring that he would appoint them: but the paucity of proper ſubjects, the number of prieſts in that province ſeldom exceeding three hundred, and the neceſſity of providing for the multitude of colleges and miſſions, through the immenſe continent of S. America, would not admit of nominating more than two, who were father Juan Manuel de Baſſaldua, a native of Mechoacan, and father Geronimo Minutili a Sardinian; a veſſel was purchaſed at Acapulco, called Nueſtra Senora del Roſario, and being rigged and part of her cargo taken in, father Minutili brought her to Matanchel in New Galicia, where the fathers embarked with all the neceſſaries that were wanting. They had a pleaſant voyage as far as the gulf, but there they were overtaken by a violent tempeſt, that they were obliged to throw over-board all the part of their cargo which was upon the deck. But at laſt the fury of the wind ceaſed, the ſea gradually grew calm, and they came into the bay of Loretto on Saturday the 28th of October, where a ſolemn thankſgiving was performed.

The joy of the few which remained in the garriſon, the others having been diſcharged, through an inability of continuing their pay, may be conceived from the diſtreſſes they had undergone, all crowding about father Piccolo with warm effuſions of thanks for his expedition. And now father Juan Maria, with this freſh reinforcement of handicraftſmen, and the ſecurity of the royal fund, though but ſcanty for the garriſon, conceived higher deſigns; and that they might be executed in the beſt manner, and with diſpatch, he conferred with all the fathers on the propereſt meaſures. By them it was reſolved that father Ugarte ſhould go over to the continent to procure cattle, in order for breeding, and horſes and mules for tillage, the ſervice of the miſſions, and for progreſſes up the country; that father Minutili ſhould ſtay in Loretto with father Salva-Tierra; and that father Baſſaldua ſhould go to San Xavier with father Piccolo, to learn the language, aſſiſt him and accuſtom

cuſtom himſelf to the functions. Though father Ugarte ſailed in the beginning of November, the N. W. wind, after being ſome days at ſea, obliged him to put back. But ſetting ſail a ſecond time, in December, he happily arrived at San Joſeph de Guaymas, on the coaſt of Pimeria, whence, in February 1703, he returned to California, with a good quantity of black cattle, ſheep, horſes, mules, and proviſions. Father Salva-Tierra had not neglected in the mean time, to make ſome progreſſes, but of no great extent, by reaſon of his attendants travelling on foot, and the country being rocky and craggy; with this new reinforcement, he carried his attempts farther, and on the firſt of March of the ſame year 1703, he ſet out to take a ſurvey of the oppoſite weſtern coaſt along the South ſea. Being attended by the captain, ſome ſoldiers, and Californians, he took his way by the miſſion of San Xavier de Vigge, and the town of Santa Roſalia: in the latter he was joined by the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua. They reached the oppoſite coaſt without finding any Indians, and travelled over part of it, both towards the South and North, without meeting ſo much as one proper harbour or creek for ſhelter: and though ſome of the grounds promiſed pretty well for tillage, they were quite deſtitute of water, and on the other hand, no reliance can be had on the rains in a country, where, by experience, they are known to be extremely irregular and uncertain. They travelled on ſouthward to the little river San Xavier, which iſſues into the ſea through ſome creeks, which abounds in fiſh of the teſtaceous and other kinds. Here they ſaw at a diſtance, ſome Indian men and women, who immediately betook themſelves to flight. But ſome Californians who were ſent after them, removed their fears. In their return, they paſſed by two rancherias, whom they encouraged to come nearer to San Xavier de Vigge, and without meeting any tract fit for a ſettlement, on account of the want of water, they ſoon after came to Loretto. The ſecond journey was in May, and towards the north, in order to take a view of a certain river beyond the bay of Conception, which they did not queſtion but that it would prove very convenient for ſettling a miſſion on its banks. When they were near the bay, which is forty leagues from Loretto, they came to a large rancheria of Indians, who at ſight of them made ready their arrows; but father Ugarte advancing with the Californians, who were his guides and interpreters, they received him very courteouſly. Theſe Indians informed them, that it was ſtill a long way from Conception to the river, and full of craggs and abyſſes; ſo that it was thought improper to undertake ſuch a laborious taſk at that time: and this diſcovery was deferred to be performed by ſea, at a more favourable opportunity.

But a diſmal cloud ſoon overſpread part of California: ſome Indians arriving in a fright from the miſſion of San Xavier with advice, that the malecontents of their rancheria, at the inſtigation of the wretch who had headed the laſt conſpiracy, had formed themſelves into a body with other rancherias, and in one night's time, had maſſacred all the adult catechumens, except thoſe who found means to eſcape to the garriſon. This was received with all the concern the caſe required, and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make an example of theſe barbarians, who were known chiefly to conſiſt of the murderers of the ſoldier Poblano, and whom the connivance at that action, had ſpirited up to farther outrages, no longer to be ſuffered. The captain, with the ſoldiers, and a party of Indians, ſurpriſed the rebels at midnight, but very few ſtood their ground; ſo only very few were killed, but, among them, one who was very active in the maſſacre. The leader of the conſpiracy, who had been in moſt of the diſturbances, eſcaped; and it would not have been prudent for our men to have ventured themſelves in an unknown rocky country, in purſuit of him: but the captain determined to check the ſeditious, and accordingly with an air of great reſentment, threatened all the Indians, who being countrymen of the ſlaughtered catechumens, had remained at San Xavier, or immediately repaired thither, that he would purſue them without pity, till they delivered up the leader of the rebellion dead or alive; accordingly within a few days he was brought alive. The captain formally tried him on the depoſitions of his countrymen, which indeed were all confirmed by his own confeſſion. It was diſcovered that he had ſeveral times intended to cut off the fathers and ſoldiers; and that, failing in this deſign, he had once turned his rage againſt the chapel and images, and laſtly in ſuch a barbarous manner againſt the catechumens. He appeared alſo to have had the chief hand in the killing of Poblano, and to have put the Indian women upon marrying with Spaniards, in order to bring about more diſaſters of the like nature: laſtly, that from the beginning, he had been the leading incendiary in moſt of the revolts, and conſequently deſerved death; accordingly the captain pronounced his ſentence, but before proceeding to execution, he adviſed the fathers at Loretto of it. Father Piccolo came immediately, and was for ſetting him at liberty, but could not prevail. Soon after came likewiſe father Salva-Tierra, who propoſed that he ſhould be baniſhed for ever to the other ſide of California, but the captain remained inflexible in his opinion, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make a publick example of him; and all that could be obtained, was a reſpite for catechiſing him in order to baptiſm. This was done to the great ſatisfaction of the criminal, who was of more lively parts than the reſt of his countrymen, and had already a ſufficient knowledge of our holy myſteries. Being baptiſed, he became another man, and deſired death, as what he had well deſerved, and forewarned his countrymen againſt the like crimes. In his laſt hours he was aſſiſted by father Baſſaldua, the fathers Piccolo and Salva-Tierra, from the tenderneſs of their diſpoſition, being withdrawn to Loretto. The Indians every where being ſo humbled by this ſeaſonable ſeverity, that for a long time not the leaſt diſturbance appeared among them.

The profound tranquility of the Indians was an opportunity for the eſtabliſhment of new miſſions, which was not to be overlooked. Two were immediately wanting, one ſouth of Loretto, on the coaſt of Ligui or Malabat, which was ſaid to be a very convenient ſpot, and the other northward, by the ſide of the river, which, in May, father Ugarte had made a fruitleſs ſearch after by land. But a certain account of it was brought by the bark, which contrary winds had driven there, in one of her voyages to Yaqui. In order to take a particular ſurvey of it, the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua, with the captain and ſome ſoldiers went thither the latter end of Auguſt in the garriſon's bark. They ſteered northward up the gulf, and a little beyond Conception bay, found the mouth of the river, which, in the country tongue was called Mulege, behind cape de los Virgines; having landed, they went up the country about a league, by the river ſide, to the ſpot where afterwards was founded the miſſion of Santa Roſalia: here, in order to a farther view of the country, as being very rugged and mountainous, beaſts were neceſſary, and they all re-embarked, and went over to the oppoſite coaſt, in order to bring them. Father Andres de Cervantes, miſſionary of Yaqui, immediately furniſhed them with beaſts, and father Piccolo remaining with two ſeculars, to collect contributions in the miſſions of Sonora, for that under him then in its infancy in California, father Baſſaldua returned with the reſt to the river Mulege. Here they underwent great fatigues in ſurveying the country, in order to find a way along the mountains, lying betwixt the

N.

N. and N. W. of Loretto. This was a ſervice abſolutely neceſſary to the foundation of the miſſion, for ſuch a communication by land was of indiſpenſible neceſſity towards the ſettlement of a miſſion; but after all their endeavours, the country was found impenetrable, and they were a ſecond time obliged to re-embark, and went to Conception bay, which lies but two leagues from the river Mulege. Here having ſent the bark to Guaymas, they went by the way which had been diſcovered, and partly cleared the preceding May to San Juan de Londo, now the viſitation town, where the venerable father Salva-Tierra was, and immediately from thence to Loretto, whither they were called by by the following miſfortune.

Purſuant to the prudent orders of the viceroy, for putting a ſtop to the violences committed in the pearl fiſhery, which had been one of the main impediments to the converſion of the Californians, none were to go from the coaſt of New Spain, either to fiſh or trade for pearls without licence from the government; and before putting it in practice, to ſhow it to the captain of the new garriſon of Loretto: however, two veſſels had preſumed without any ſuch licence, to fiſh for pearls betwixt the iſlands. But a ſtorm, in which the garriſon's bark, in going from Conception to Guaymas, was very near being loſt, drove theſe two ſmuggling veſſels aſhore in San Dionyſio bay; the crew, which were near ſeventy in number, having with great difficulty ſaved themſelves, immediately made towards the garriſon for aſſiſtance. Soon after fourteen other men were ſeen in boats, the unhappy remains of another veſſel loſt by the ſame ſtorm. Theſe unhappy people could not be denied cloathing and food, though the refitting of the two ſtranded veſſels took up ſome months. And this act of charity, expended almoſt the whole ſupply which father Piccolo had a little before brought from Yaqui. Towards the cloſe of the year, the fourteen who had ſuffered ſhipwreck were carried over to the continent, along with father Minutili, who, as California by no means agreed with his health, was appointed miſſionary of Tibutama in Sonora, as aſſiſtant to father Kino.

SECT. VII.

His majeſty's gracious orders concerning the miſſion, its great difficulties and diſtreſſes in the year 1704, both in CALIFORNIA and Mexico; father Salva-Tierra appointed provincial of New Spain.

The whole Californian miſſion, was in extreme diſtreſs at the beginning of the year 1704, the 7th of this new conqueſt; and which was very near being the laſt. The veſſel called the Roſario, ſtood in need of large repairs, which could be done only on the other ſide, from whence they were to bring the caſh, and orders for payment of the ſoldiers; and likewiſe goods of abſolute neceſſity for the miſſions and the fathers. On the 12th of February, father Baſſaldua ſet ſail in it for Matanchel, from whence he proceeded to Guadalaxara and Mexiço. Father Piccolo went again in the San Xavier bark, to Guaymas, the miſſion of San Joſeph there having been annexed to California; that, being under the ſame ſuperior and viſitor, there might be a greater harmony and the ſupplies of proviſions and beaſts, which California ſtood in need of, be more ready and convenient. The active father Piccolo went to and fro, bringing all that he could poſſibly collect on the oppoſite coaſt, for the ſupport of the garriſon; but it is not to be thought that he could collect a ſufficiency for ſuch a number of people. A great part of the proviſions was ſpoiled, partly by lying in the ſtorehouſe and by the damages of the ſea; and the boiſterouſneſs of the latter did not always admit of the tranſportation, eſpecially as the bark, their only vehicle, was in a weak condition.

In the mean time father Baſſaldua made himſelf ſure, that, on coming to Mexico, all the difficulties and ſtreights of his beloved California would ſoon be at an end: and that the reduction and conqueſt of it for the king would be ſoon accompliſhed. But he quickly ſaw the deluſion of theſe hopes, though in themſelves not ill grounded. In the preceding year 1703, the fathers Bernard Rolendigui and Nicholas de Vera, had gone from Mexico to Madrid and Rome, as agents of the province of Mexico. They preſented to the young king, don Philip V. a memorial and report of the miſſion eſtabliſhed in California, its ſtate to that time, the ſpiritual and temporal advantages to his dominions that might be expected, if his majeſty would be pleaſed effectually to encourage the miſſions; the means and meaſures for rendering ſuch encouragement effectual, and the damages which the crown would ſuffer from the relinquiſhment of the enterpriſe, which had been begun with a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs than ever. On the 16th of June, this memorial was read in the ſupreme council of the Indies, his majeſty being preſent in perſon: and before him the matter was fully diſcuſſed, and the treaſurer of the council was directed to report his opinion, agreeable to the former accounts, as thoſe ſent for from the government of Mexico were not yet come, and the affair would not admit of farther delays. On the report of the treaſurer on the 28th of September 1703, his majeſty ſigned five warrants: the firſt, directed to the viceroy, contained an order, that for the future the benevolence uſually given to the miſſionaries of Cinaloa, Sonora, and New Biſcay, ſhould be transferred to the miſſionaries of California; and that likewiſe they ſhould be furniſhed with bells, oil, ornaments, and other things uſually given to new miſſions; that the viceroy ſhould hold a meeting of military officers, jeſuits, and perſons acquainted with the country and thoſe coaſts, in order to ſettle, as far north as poſſible, a garriſon, with thirty ſoldiers and a commander, to be nominated by the viceroy, for the defence of the country, as a ſafe receptacle to the Philippine ſhips; that a veſſel of a proper burden ſhould be purchaſed for the tranſportation of the people, to be manned with eight men and a maſter; and likewiſe for carrying neceſſaries to the miſſion; that every year, notwithſtanding the warrants of 1696, there ſhould be paid without any deduction or delay, ſeven thouſand dollars out of the treaſury of Guadalaxara, over and above the ſix thouſand already aſſigned for this ſervice. Laſtly, his majeſty required an account to be tranſmitted to him of the miſſions, founded by private perſons: alſo that the pearl fiſhery ſhould be again ſet on foot, taking due care to prevent any complaints, by ſeverely puniſhing every violence, fraud, or riot, and that for peopling and ſecuring the conqueſt, endeavours ſhould be uſed for ſending poor families thither from New Spain. The other four ſchedules were gratulatory; that to don Joſeph de Miranda Villizan, the treaſurer of Guadalaxara, and the father provincial of the ſociety, for their zeal; and thoſe to don Juan Cavalero y Ocio, and the congregation of Los Dolores, for the foundation of three miſſions, by their charitable donations. The ſchedules came to the viceroy's hands on the 11th of April 1704, and being referred to the treaſurer, he made his report on the 18th of the ſame month, that the contents of them ought entirely and abſolutely to be fulfilled. Now father Baſſaldua was in the height of joy, and thinking that at length the time was come, when he ſhould ſee his miſſion ſettled on a ſure foundation, and his proſperity daily increaſing, he poured out his fervent thanks to God. But ſo far from it, that the viceroy referred the ſchedule, and the treaſurer's anſwer to a general aſſembly, at which were to aſſiſt, father Piccolo, who was ſaid to be at Acapulco, when he was at Guaymas the leaſt frequented harbour in the gulf of California,

lifornia, as likewiſe father Salva-Tierra, who was alſo in California. To the latter, the father viſitor Manuel Peneyro ſent letters, ſummoning him to Mexico; but in the mean time, the new royal warrant remained without any effect, notwithſtanding the zeal and ſtrength with which his majeſty, from his care for religion, had expreſſed his royal intentions. Father Baſſaldua deſired that at leaſt the ſix thouſand dollars, ordered by the warrant of 1701, for the garriſon might be paid; but this alſo was denied him, on the plea of the great damage the fleet had ſuſtained from the enemy, in Vigo harbour in Galicia; and that it was neceſſary to employ what money was in the treaſury, on affairs of greater importance. But the true cauſe of this refuſal of ſuccours for California, both at that time and ſince, and of the various means, by which the ſtricteſt orders of the king were eluded, was (omitting thoſe before obſerved) the zeal of his majeſty's miniſters, for ſending to Spain, as much ſpecie as they well could, it being a juncture, in which indeed his majeſty ſtood in need of all poſſible ſuccours, a great part of Europe being leagued together to deprive him of his crown; and if the royal revenue was laid out on new ſalaries, veſſels, conqueſts, miſſionaries, and garriſons, there would be but a ſmall ſurplus to remit to

Spain. On this very account, the more admirable was the magnanimity and devotion of that incomparable prince, Philip V. who, riſing above all the troubles and dangers in which, at that time, not only his dominions, but even his perſon were expoſed, never ceaſed ſending the moſt explicit and peremptory orders, for the proſecution of theſe apoſtolical and uſeful enterpriſes. The diſaſter of the fleet at Vigo affected the far greateſt part of the New Spain benefactors to the miſſion of California; the conſequence of which was, that father Baſſaldua, could collect but a ſmall ſhare among them, for the relief of his miſſion: That he could only refit his bark, and buy up a few neceſſaries; and with theſe, accompanied by father Pedro Ugarte, who procured himſelf to be nominated to ſucceed father Minutili in California, as his brother John had done, he put to ſea, and at the end of June, came to San Dionyſio bay, though with little comfort, either to himſelf or the garriſon of Loretto.

The fathers and ſoldiers in California, were now in great ſtreights, and towards the end of ſummer, their neceſſity became extreme: both the larger and ſmaller veſſel, bound to the continent for proviſions, having, by the hard gales at N. W. being twice obliged to put back empty. The men of the garriſon, who, with

the

the ſeamen and Indians of New Spain, amounted to ſixty perſons, could not conceal their diſcontent, which was, that the bills they had petitioned for at Mexico, on account of their pay, were not arrived: and it was known that the love and reſpect which they bore to the fathers, whom they ſaw in no leſs diſtreſs than themſelves, was the only conſideration which reſtrained them from entirely quitting the garriſon. The want of every neceſſary of life, at laſt, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that father Juan Maria thought it neceſſary to call together all the fathers and the captain, to deliberate whether the miſſion ſhould be forſaken or not. The venerable father himſelf, was indeed determined to remain among his Californians, if by himſelf; and this diſpoſition he had made known to the treaſurer Miranda, on the 8th of February of the ſame year, "I, for my part, will remain here, without a ſingle ſoldier, whatever riſk may be in it; and, I believe, father Ugarte is of the ſame mind." They were the only two who remained there, the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua being abſent. But it was not reaſonable that this extremity ſhould be obtruded upon the others, who, if they were diſpoſed to ſacrifice themſelves, were not to be deprived of the merit and glory of a free option, nor was it prudent, purely out of zeal and firmneſs, to expoſe ſuch a number of perſons to periſh, nor to load one's ſelf with the odium of the loſs of all, if ſuch a thing happened. It was abſolutely proper to appeaſe the diſcontents of the garriſon, which were as juſt as they were irremediable. All the fathers, the captain, and another officer of the garriſon being met, the venerable father Juan Maria addreſſed them to the following purpoſe; that there was no need of repreſenting to them the preſent melancholy ſituation of affairs, as they unhappily ſaw it and felt it: that however they could not impute it to any want of diligence in him, having been eye-witneſſes of his attention and labour, that they alſo were not ignorant of father Baſſaldua's ill ſucceſs at Mexico, and that at preſent no ſpeedy ſuccour was to be expected from that quarter; that this garriſon and miſſion deſerved, in a particular manner, his majeſty's munificence, and had already informed them of the royal ſchedules paſſed in September of the preceding year: that he was ſummoned to Mexico, to confer concerning the execution of them; but that he would not ſtir out of California, till his miſſion was either relieved or broke up: that as the execution of theſe ſchedules was retarded, and the neceſſity grew every day more preſſing, without hopes of relief, and the conqueſt being continually expoſed to the ſame fluctuations, he deſired that they would freely and unreſervedly determine, whether they ſhould, together with the Californians who were willing to follow them, all withdraw in the greater and leſſer veſſel, to the coaſt of New Spain, and there wait a more favourable juncture of returning to the conqueſt and reduction of California, under the powerful aſſiſtance of the king. Father Piccolo, as founder, that he might not, by his vote, hinder thoſe of the reſt, ſpoke with an entire indifference on the alternative. But father Ugarte reſolutely oppoſed their quitting the country, moving that all the people who were deſirous of going, ſhould be diſcharged with certificates for their pay; that as to the reſt, he engaged to provide wild food for the Indians, till proviſions came from the other ſide of the ſea; and that as for himſelf, he could be perfectly content with the pitahayas, fruits, and roots, which his Californian friends eat. He was ſeconded by the fathers Pedro Ugarte, Baſſaldua, and Piccolo, to the great joy of father Salva-Tierra. The captain and the others, who had been ſent for from the garriſon, alarmed at ſuch a propoſal, went ſo far as to ſay, that they would ſolemnly proteſt againſt the fathers, if the country was quitted. Nevertheleſs, notice was given to the people, that whoever would, might embark in the two veſſels which were going to the continent of New Spain, and bills ſhould be given them for the payment of their arrears: but one and all in the camp, inſtead of embracing the offer, cried out that they would live night and day with the fathers, rather than leave them. In the mean time came on ſome fair weather, and the bark went with father Piccolo to Guaymas, and the veſſel to the river Yaqui, with letters for the miſſionaries. Father Juan Ugarte ſometimes by himſelf, ſometimes accompanied by ſoldiers and convert Indians, went about among the woods and eminences, gathering fruits and digging up roots, which were brought to Loretto. The like was done by the Indians of San Xavier and San Juan de Londo, as a proof of their fidelity, and their readineſs to defend them, and revenge their murderers. Thus all concurred in an heroick patience, quietly to bear the ſad extremity to which they were now reduced. In the midſt of it, father Salva-Tierra in whoſe mind the chief concern always predominated, went to take a view of the tract of Ligui or Malibat, ſouth of Loretto, where, as we have ſaid, it was propoſed to found another miſſion, as that intended on the river Mulege on the north ſide was impracticable, on account of the difficulty of the way. It was the 12th of July when he came to the ſpot, having with him only father Pedro Ugarte, a ſoldier, and two Indians as his interpreters, the language being ſomething different from that of Loretto: but on advancing towards the rancheria, they were put in no ſmall fear, a great number of Indians ſuddenly ſallying out of an ambuſh, began furiouſly to ſhoot their arrows at them, on which the ſoldier Franciſco Xavier Valenzuela, with one hand drew his ſcymeter and brandiſhed it, and with the other fired off a muſketoon in the air, only to frighten them, as it moſt effectually did; for the Indians at hearing the loud exploſion, threw themſelves on the ground with their weapons; and ſoon after ſat down, ſilently waiting for their new gueſts. The father then acquainted them by his interpreters, that they had no need to be afraid, that they did not come to do them any harm, but to entertain them and enter into friendſhip with them. On this they all drew near, and the father, who was known to ſome, embraced them, and made little preſents to them all, telling them that as a ſign of peace and friendſhip, he came to bring them to father Ugarte, who was juſt landed in the country to live with them, to aſſiſt them and take care of them as his children, and inſtruct them in the way to heaven. On this they ſhewed themſelves open and friendly, and as a proof of their good diſpoſitions cauſed their children and wives to appear. They took a view of the country, and found that it would fully anſwer for ſettling there the head of a miſſion. But as the difficulties they laboured under at that time, would not admit of their beginning a chapel or any other building; or the cultivation of the land, all they did was, that father Ugarte had the pleaſure of taking poſſeſſion of his miſſion by the baptiſm of forty-eight children, whom the mothers eaſily offered, and they returned to Loretto to the great grief of the Indians, to whom, however, they promiſed they would ſoon return and that father Ugarte ſhould come with them.

The veſſel and bark returned at the latter end of Auguſt with proviſions from the river Yaqui San Joſeph de Guaymas, to the great comfort of the people of the garriſon: in this year father Salva-Tierra was inſtead of father Pineyro appointed viſitor of the miſſions of Cinaloa and Sonora. But he delayed this viſitation partly that he might not leave his beloved California under ſuch diſtreſs, and partly from the notice he had received, that he was expected at the aſſembly, which the king had ordered to be held at Mexico; a voyage which he alſo put off in regard to the former motive. He now received freſh letters acquainting him that the concerns of California, were ſuſpended till he ſhould come to Mexico: and as he now could leave his miſſion, provided for ſome time, and with hopes of larger and more regular ſupplies from the miſſions of Sonora and Cinaloa, he determined to embark without delay for Spain. However he found himſelf again obliged to defer it till the end of September, both for celebrating the dedication of the new church of Loretto, on the day of the nativity of our lady, an office, which, for the greater ſolemnity, was accompanied with the baptiſm of ſeveral adults, though the uſual time for theſe was at Eaſter and Whitſuntide, according to the ancient uſage of the church, as verified in the Roman ritual; and alſo for giving orders concerning the miſſions, particularly the command of the garriſon. Some diſguſts had happened among the ſoldiery, who obliged the worthy Portugueſe Eſtevan Lorenzo to lay down his commiſſion, though he was very well ſatisfied with his poſt; as likewiſe with the fathers, nor could all the entreaties of the latter prevail for his continuance in it. The enſign Iſidro Grumeque alſo reſigned, offering himſelf to accompany the father to Mexico, which he did. Hereupon, for captain-lieutenant, the father appointed Nicolas Marques, a Sicilian, and the poſt of captain was filled by don Juan Baptiſta

Eſcalante, at that time enſign in the garriſon of Nacoſari in Sonora, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the Apaches: but the ſupreme government of the garriſon and miſſion, he conferred on father Juan Ugarte, giving him, at his requeſt, inſtructions how to act on all occaſions. Thus having regulated every thing, he ſet out on the firſt of October from Matanchel for Guadalaxara; there he ſtaid till the 26th of the ſame month, conferring with the members of that audience, and eſpecially with Sennor Miranda, now auditor. In the mean time, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, died at Mexico Manuel Pineyro, father viſitor, and on opening the ſecond letter from Rome, father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra was found to be appointed provincial. He arrived at Mexico in the beginning of November, little thinking of ſuch news; and endeavoured to be excuſed from ſuch a difficult employment; his heart was entirely taken up with his Californian miſſion, and with great humility and ſtrength he laid before the conſiſtory of the province his reaſons for accepting it. But he was overcome by the cuſtoms of the fathers, who would not admit of his plea from a perſuaſion, that it was for the advantage of his own beloved miſſion and all the others, that he ſhould be provincial, and act as ſuch. Hereupon he took on him the ſpiritual government of the province; but without delay wrote to the father, general Thyrſo Gonzales, for permiſſion to reſign his office, that he might have the pleaſure of dying among his Californians. He obtained from the viceroy, with great reputation to himſelf, the Reforma, or continuance of their pay to his two companions, the captain and enſign of the garriſon, and began to take in hand the other affairs of his miſſion.

SECT. VIII.

Father Salva-Tierra's farther ſervices to CALIFORNIA; his majeſty's favours; obſtacles in Mexico againſt his miſſion; he viſits it in the quality of provincial.

The new provincial waited on his excellency the viceroy, to give him a full account of the ſtate of the miſſion of California, and to deſire that he would be pleaſed to comply with the joint orders of his majeſty and the ſupreme council of the Indians. In purſuance of which, had been held the general junto or aſſembly of the 6th of June, though the fathers and others, acquainted with the country, were not preſent as had been directed. The treaſurer's report concerning the immediate payment both of the old and new aſſignments for the miſſions, veſſels, and garriſon was unanimouſly agreed to: but the article for the eſtabliſhment of a new garriſon on the South-ſea coaſt, and the number of ſoldiers, was put off till the fathers and others who were acquainted with that country, and the ſea, ſhould be heard. Notwithſtanding all this, no actual payment was made, not even of the former aſſignment of 6000 dollars, only in a letter of the 24th of September of the ſame year 1704, his majeſty was given to underſtand, that by an act of the council, the execution of his majeſty's ſchedule of the 28th of December 1703, had been deferred till they had conferred with father Salva-Tierra, who for this purpoſe had been ſent for from California to confer with about the ſeveral particulars.

The viceroy with great politeneſs and condeſcenſion, gave a very long hearing to the new provincial, and was indeed charmed with his apoſtolic zeal, humility, ſweetneſs, magnanimity, and likewiſe with his abilities. He admitted of the neceſſity of complying with the king's orders, and the father's requeſt. The miniſters of the royal audience alſo admitted him to a conference, and were equally convinced by his arguments. There was now the moſt favourable conjuncture for holding a meeting of perſons acquainted with the country; there being then at Mexico the founder of the miſſion, the cap-

tain

tain and enſign of the garriſon, and many others who had been a voyage to the Philippine iſlands, but no junto or meeting was held; nor were there ſo much as any hopes given that it would be held; ſo that the provincial Salva-Tierra, finding obſtacles raiſed on all ſides, ſet out on the viſitation of the college, and did not return to Mexico till after Lent 1705. At that time ſome hopes were given for holding the junto, and he prepared a written memorial relating to the royal ſchedule to be laid before it. On the 25th of May the father ſigned it, and I ſhall inſert it here, as it ſhews the thoughts of that worthy man on theſe matters; as likewiſe the chriſtian ſimplicity and frankneſs, with which he expreſſes himſelf.

May it pleaſe your excellency,

I Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra of the ſociety of Jeſus, ſent for by your excellency, purſuant to his majeſty's ſchedule dated the 28th of October 1703, requiring your excellency to hear the opinion of the fathers: and in obedience to the ſaid ſchedule and your excellency's order, I came in little more than a month from California to this city. And on my arrival it was ſignified to me that father Manuel Penyro was dead; and by his death I became provincial of this province of New Spain, and likewiſe miſſionary of California. In obedience to his majeſty's ſchedule, I take the liberty of repreſenting the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in California with only one veſſel, as for ſeven years and a half we have always had three: yet by the accidents of the ſea, the ſtranding of them, and ſometimes their total loſs; the long ſtay for their repairing and careening, for want of ſtores, ſupplies, contributions, and officers; the diſtance of harbours and creeks where they might careen, have frequently ſuffered great diſtreſſes. For the enterpriſe is ſo new and recent, that as yet no way more ready and convenient has been diſcovered.

And it would not have been otherwiſe, tho' plentifully ſupported by money, as in the time of don Iſidro da Otando, who had the royal treaſury at command; for of three conſiderable veſſels built on purpoſe for the Californian ſervice, the bilander never ſaw California, and all the reſult was a fruitleſs expence to his majeſty, loſs of ſtores and proviſions, beſides the charge of artificers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen: and the two veſſels called the Captain and the Admiral, were of very little ſervice, and the ſettlement at the harbour de la Paz, the very centre of the Placeres, or pearl banks, was diſgracefully forſaken, the Admiral not coming with ſupplies in time. Another wretched piece of miſconduct

conduct was, the provoking the Guaycura nation which lived in the neighbourhood, by the murder of the Indians, who ſat round a large kettle feaſting on boiled maize, to which the admiral had invited them. He afterwards made a ſettlement 70 leagues higher up, and was there ten months without ſo much as ſeeing a ſingle veſſel.

Secondly, I repreſent to your excellency the barrenneſs of the country. For from the time of Ferdinand Cortes and many others, who have landed there ſince during the ſpace of 180 years, there has been no poſſibility of peopling it, a certain ſign that they met with very great difficulties; and had not on this occaſion the moſt holy virgin of Loretto been the conquereſs and ſettler, what has been done could never have been executed, at leaſt could not have ſubſiſted. I was not a novice when I undertook this plan, but grown old among the labours of New Biſcay, where it was my happineſs, by means of the chearful commerce of the Spaniards, both ſoldiers and inhabitants, and my friendſhip with the Indians, to check the inſurrections of thoſe people.

Thus from my ſaid knowledge and experience, I in the third place lay before your excellency, the almoſt certain danger of loſing this country, if in theſe beginnings the fathers have not the power of appointing or diſplacing the commander of this ſmall body of ſoldiers. For, I know by experience, that without this power, I ſhould not have been able to have gone a ſingle ſtep up the country of California: and ſhould have ſpent much more time in the firſt place where we landed. And the commanders, for fear of being again removed, had, at the earneſt exhortation of the fathers, ſupported by authority, made diſcoveries and taken ſurveys of the country.

I add, that the pearls are a ſtrong allurement; and had not the fathers by means of that authority prevented inconveniences, ſome violent ſpirits would, as was formerly too often the practice, under ſeveral pretences, have compelled the Indians, both gentiles and chriſtians, to fiſh by laying a tax upon them. Of this compulſion, the neceſſary conſequence would be an inſurrection; and thence the loſs of the country, on account of its ruggedneſs, which would not admit of any horſe being employed for the recovery of it: likewiſe for the eaſe of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, who, in ſo diſtant a country and divided by the ſea, owned that they lived more quietly under the protection of the fathers or the ſuperior, as he can remove the captain, and they may promiſe themſelves that no oppreſſion or hardſhip will be put upon them from their quarters: and to ſuch oppreſſions and jealouſies this country is very much addicted: for inſtance, an Indian goes and ſells a good pearl to a ſoldier of his acquaintance, preferably to the captain, who is ſure to look always with an evil eye on the ſoldier and the Indian; and if the Spaniſh ſoldier will not let him have it at his own price, he flies into a paſſion and proceeds to extremity, as was ſeen on many occaſions in Otondo's time, who, on ſeveral occaſions, was near loſing his life by the hands of the ſoldiers and mariners.

The taking away this power from the fathers, I alſo add, will leſſen the charity of his majeſty's ſubjects, as contributions will riſe or fall with their confidence of the proper and ſucceſsful employment of them: but now they will have reaſon to fear that what they do with one hand, is undone by another. This likewiſe will put a ſtop to the perſonal ſuccours both of Spaniards and of the Indians of New Biſcay, who whether Californians, Indians and Spaniards, at one word from the fathers, quit their lands and come in barks as happened three years ago, when a bark of Cinaloa Spaniards came to our aſſiſtance; and the warriors among the moſt faithful nation of the Yaqui did the ſame coming over in a veſſel, all very well armed, and landed at Loretto in California.

Whereas this change of power would diſcourage both the Indians and Spaniards, as they could not truſt to the protection and paternal love of the fathers; and would be one of the greateſt detriments which could befall this new conqueſt, it being well known that don Iſidro de Otondo, the admiral of California, captain of the garriſon of Cinaloa, and governor of that province, with all his authority and repeated orders from the viceroy, could not raiſe a ſingle Indian volunteer in Cinaloa and Sonora. And the few he preferred on account of their crimes, continued to act agreeably to their character, and cauſed the firſt inſurrection after their entrance. And I affirm that all the ſaid motives aim only at the preſervation of the country, and the laſting eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in it.

I likewiſe think proper to repreſent to your excellency, that the money expended in this enterpriſe till this day, amounts to twelve hundred and twenty-five thouſand dollars, excluſive of the foundation of ſix miſſions, which amount to fifty-eight thouſand dollars; and of theſe ſums the treaſury, during ſo many years to the preſent time, has paid only eighteen thouſand dollars, and the whole large remainder has been procured by the cares and great labours of the fathers of the ſociety. From all which accrues a great ſervice to his majeſty, and ſaving to his treaſury. And it was in regard to this ſervice, that I requeſted of his majeſty a party of twenty-five ſoldiers with a commander, purely for the good of the country: A requeſt which I do not think equal to the magnanimous diſpoſition of our king.

I forbear animadverting on the reſolution taken by the royal council in 1685, relating to the abandoning of California, after a large and fruitleſs expence. This council ſummoned the father provincial of the ſociety: and in his abſence the vice-provincial father Daniel Angelo Marras; and to him it was propoſed, and his compliance at the ſame time ſtrongly ſolicited, that the reverend ſociety would take upon themſelves the whole enterpriſe of California, in conſideration of which they ſhould be annually allowed forty thouſand dollars from the treaſury. And the ſaid father Daniel Angelo Marras having called together the conſiſtory of the province, they declined the propoſal. It is true, that the father provincial Bernabé de Soto returning from his viſitation, began to ſee that, in refuſing the offer, the welfare of the poor Californians had not been properly conſulted: and that this was the only expedient remaining to be tried for planting chriſtianity in this kingdom. And ſo ſtrongly perſuaded was this royal council, that to commit the affair to the reverend fathers was the only probable means of accompliſhing the converſion of the Californians, and the reduction of the country, that the petition of captain Franciſco de Lucenilla, laid before them immediately after, and engaging to do the ſame ſervice for a much ſmaller ſum than that offered to the fathers, was rejected without deliberation.

As the ſociety has not ſpared itſelf, but at the exhortation of the moſt reverend Thyrſo Gonzales, father general, has in the perſon of its ſons viſited all the houſes of well diſpoſed perſons, the officers and tribunals, begging aſſiſtance towards the reduction of this kingdom to our holy faith; it is my opinion that it ought not to be done ſeparately from our ſociety. But that with freſh injunctions and recommendations from your excellency, whilſt a report is tranſmitted to his majeſty, the fathers exert themſelves to take care not only of the ſpiritual, but of the temporal concerns, and the rather as having now the ſupport of the thirteen thouſand dollars which his majeſty again offers; and which will be a help to the fathers, but to any ſecular perſon whatever, would be an incumbrance; for by the experience which the conduct of this enterpriſe for eight years affords me, I ſay, that it is impoſſible with that ſum to act up to the conditions of the ſchedule.

And ſhould any one offer to fulfil thoſe conditions, and ſecure the country with thirteen thouſand dollars, it muſt be from his ignorance, or with a deſign to defraud the king. He will be intent only on his own private advantage. This will produce a thouſand diſputes with the fathers, who cannot but oppoſe any oppreſſions of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, and more particularly of the Indians, whether chriſtians or infidels, who alſo would not fail to riſe in arms; and whilſt application is made to court in letters and memorials, even before any anſwers, however favourable to the Indians, can return, the flame of revolt may ſpread every where: theſe uncultivated people being ſtrangers to any other recourſe againſt injuſtice than their weapons. The ſaid commander will for many years be obliged to buy up beyond ſea all kinds of proviſions; and as they are often vitiated and maggotty, eſpecially the fleſh, before their arrival, the expences amount in effect to thrice more than what they do in a ſpeculative computation: ſo that without a vaſt charge to the treaſury, it will be impoſſible for any man to maintain his ground there.

From the premiſes I conclude, that the country, on account of its barrenneſs, will not admit of Spaniſh inhabitants, as not affording ſubſiſtence even for only two fathers; and at preſent no Spaniards are to be found who are fond of new ſettlements, though in a fertile ſoil and good climate, unleſs paid by the government, or as a mitigation of a puniſhment: and then all they do, is by their irregularities to make the country revolt and quarrel with the ſoldiers, and thus raiſe a civil war, as was a few years ago the caſe in Mexico, betwixt the ſoldiers and ſettlers.

The laſt article is my anſwer to the propoſal concerning the new eſtabliſhment of a garriſon, in the oppoſite or weſtern coaſt, along which the Philippine ſhips ſail, an article proceeding from the moſt catholick breaſt of our ſovereign, and his generous pity for ſo many of his ſubjects, who die of the ſcurvy, there being in ſome thouſands of leagues not one place where they could ſend them on ſhore; though freſh meat and acid herbs would recover far the greateſt part of them: my anſwer to this, is, that I now could die with pleaſure, ſeeing the exalted concern of his majeſty, agrees with what I have ſo many years wiſhed for, being pierced to the very heart at ſight of ſuch numbers of ſick, and multitudes of them dying: and in all my labours and enterpriſes, I have had this in view. But at preſent, not to bring new expences upon the treaſury, by any additional allowance to the fathers, who have carried their converſion of the infidels ſo far, as already to approach the weſtern coaſt: his majeſty's deſires may therefore be accompliſhed in a little time, and without the expence of a new garriſon, only by cauſing the ſubſidy of thirteen thouſand dollars to be paid to the fathers, as by theſe and the contributions of charitable chriſtians, there is great probability of ſucceſs. As to the ſix thouſand dollars towards the charges, they are not ſo much as the third part; and it is ſcarce to be conceived what labour and trouble I undergo, to procure contributions for making up the reſt.

Beſides the thirteen thouſand crowns, it was neceſſary for a year or two, to have a bark from Peru, freighted with proviſions, and well manned with ſailors, in order to take a view and draught of the weſtern coaſts, harbours, creeks, and bays; and I ſailed in the bark from 24 to 27 degrees: on this we made for the eaſtern coaſt, and landed at the degree appointed: whlie that on the weſtern coaſt, joined in aſſiſting the ſhip from China, and to give her notice from thence, if any enemies were on the coaſt of New Spain.

The preſent ſtate of California is, that his majeſty, our ſovereign, is poſſeſſed of fifty leagues along the coaſt, from Conception bay to Agua Verde, i. e. green water, a lake fifty leagues up the country, or the mountains betwixt the two ſeas; the whole being above one hundred leagues in circuit; and in ſuch profound peace, that the fathers can go over it alone, without any guard of ſoldiers; the natives throughout the whole extent, willingly conforming themſelves to whatever the fathers require of them, and obey the orders of the military captain: being ready, together with twelve hundred chriſtians, catechumens, and gentiles, to take arms in our behalf.

Beſides the country reduced or conquered, there are others only diſcovered, as three ways towards the oppoſite weſtern coaſt to its very ſhores, two days journey along the coaſt, by which the Philippine ſhip comes, have been ſurveyed: and though the Indians of the weſtern coaſt, from a natural fear, fled at the ſight of the ſoldiers, yet they are now civilized, and they voluntarily come to viſit father Juan Ugarte, on that chain of mountains, which runs from ſea to ſea. California is the refuge of ſuch Spaniards, as by tempeſts are driven out their courſe from the South ſea. And two years ago, ſeventy perſons, whoſe veſſels had been loſt, and who otherwiſe muſt alſo periſh, found ſafety here. And in thoſe parts of the country that are conquered and diſcovered, there are very promiſing appearances of mines. Thus in obedience to the royal ſchedule, I have repreſented to your excellency, every thing within my knowledge; and in witneſs of it, I have hereunto ſet my name at Mexico, the 25th of May 1705.——Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra.

On the ſame day namely the 25th of May, the viceroy was pleaſed to order that this memorial ſhould be referred to the treaſurer; and afterwards by his approbation to the general aſſembly. There was all the reaſon in the world that this ſhould be now held, father Salva-Tierra, the perſon beſt able to anſwer any difficulties, being then in Mexico, yet no aſſembly was convened: and under this diſappointment of his hopes, this excellent man went in the middle of June, in the quality of provincial, to viſit the Californian miſſions, carrying them all the relief he could collect: and with him the Portugueſe don Eſtevan Lorenzo, now a ſecond time obliged to take upon him the office of captain of the garriſon. By the way he viſited all the colleges near which he paſſed. At Guadalaxara he ſtaid till the month of Auguſt, in order, together with the members of the audience,

ence, to promote the encouragement of his miſſion; recommending the viſitation of the other colleges to father Joſeph Vellido the ſecretary. The father had ſcarce left Mexico, when an aſſembly was held the 27th of June. The above-mentioned memorial, which father Salva-Tierra had been ordered to draw up, was read in it: and it was reſolved that in the want of experienced perſons, as the royal ſchedule required, no alteration ſhould be made in the affair: but that what had been reſolved in the junto of the 6th of June, in the foregoing year, ſhould be adhered to; which was to make a report to his majeſty, and wait his further orders. It was not till eight months after, that an account of this reſolution was ſent to his majeſty, in a letter of the 23d of March 1706.

Every man of ſenſe will be amazed at this conduct; for after ſuch clear expreſſions of his majeſty, he will hardly think that this unrelenting harſhneſs againſt the unhappy Californians, actually proceeded from a deſire of remitting money to Spain: and it is not to be imagined, that the government could imbibe the common reports of the vulgar, againſt the great riches and inſatiable avarice of the jeſuits, and the rumours about the rich pearl fiſheries of California, as they have more authentick informations. Therefore ſome other root of all this evil muſt be ſearched for, and it was the following: Father Salva-Tierra not only ſolicited, as rector of California, that the appointments ſhould be paid to his miſſions; but as provincial, he likewiſe intereſted himſelf for the payment of the penſions aſſigned to the miſſions of the jeſuits in New Spain. The arrears were now of ſome years ſtanding, that the miſſionaries of all of them, with their churches and the Indians belonging to them, were in a moſt deplorable condition. The province had petitioned for a large ſum of money, though but a moderate relief: and beſides the common funds and thoſe of the colleges being greatly encumbered, there was no poſſibility of procuring from Europe, proper perſons, books, ornaments for churches, apparel, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport, however ſimple and mortified, of its members. But the provincial had no better ſucceſs in his ſolicitation for this than for that of his dear Californians. He repeated his inſtances ſeveral times, always with proper humility, but with no greater effect, till at length, ſeeing that he did not prevail, and that the miſſions in the hands of the company, under whom they had grown up, were more irremediably falling to ruin; with the advice of the moſt intelligent and ſerious jeſuits, he delivered into the hands of the viceroy, a formal renunciation and relinquiſhment of all the miſſions, ſigned by the oldeſt fathers, that his excellency, as vice-patron, might provide them with paſtors. The viceroy extremely reſented this ſtep, which the company would have been glad to avoid. He ordered the appointments of that year to be paid, referring the arrears till another time. But he retained all the heat of his firſt paſſions and on every occaſion, California felt the effects of it.

During theſe tranſactions at Mexico, the reports of the firſt aſſembly of the 1ſt of June 1704, arrived at Madrid, and were taken into deliberation by the ſupreme council of the Indies; and, by its advice, the king ſent a new ſchedule, dated Auguſt the 15th 1705, in which his majeſty approved of the junto's reſolution, to wait for father Salva-Tierra's opinion, concerning the new garriſon on the ſouthern coaſt. But with regard to the thirteen thouſand dollars appointed for the conqueſt and reduction, he again ordered, that it ſhould be paid without any delay, and ſpeedy advice of every thing be ſent to him. This ſchedule was read before the viceroy, on the 20th of June 1706; and on its being referred to the Fiſcal, he delivered his opinion, that father Salva-Tierra, having already given his report in writing, it ſhould be remitted to his majeſty, with advice that the appointment of thirteen thouſand dollars had been paid, it being no longer avoidable, in virtue of the royal order. The ſchedule and the treaſurer's opinion were laid before the royal council, which, in September the 24th of the ſame year, after dwelling on the exhauſted ſtate of the revenue, in the viceroy's preſence, reſolved that father Salva-Tierra's memorial ſhould be ſent to his majeſty, as containing ſeveral articles on which it was neceſſary to know his majeſty's royal determination; and in other reſpects, to abide by the reſolutions of the aſſembly, on the 27th of June 1704, of not making any alterations without freſh orders from his majeſty. Father Salva-Tierra's memorial, had been remitted to court in May of that year: and now it was again ſent with the viceroy's remarks on ſome points. Theſe proceedings were kept ſo ſecret, that nothing tranſpired to the fathers, who, in the mean time, were unable to take any ſtep in favour of their miſſion. Theſe papers arrived in Spain, when it was known, that the South ſea was infeſted by many Corſairs, who ſheltered themſelves in California; and of theſe Woods Rogers was one as may be ſeen in his voyage begun in 1708, the very year when this ſubject was deliberated on in Madrid; and theſe diſpatches having been laid before the ſupreme council of the Indies, his majeſty by their advice, ſent over another ſchedule, dated at Buen Retiro, the 26th of July 1708, which contained three parts: the firſt recapitulated thoſe of the preceding years: the ſecond contained obſervations on the articles of father Salva-Tierra's memorial, and the viceroy's remarks: the third again directed the immediate payment of the thirteen thouſand dollars, and that the general aſſembly of all the miniſters, military officers, and perſons who had a knowledge of the coaſt and country of California, ſhould as formerly directed be immediately held: and that the viceroy ſhould determine the moſt convenient place for erecting on the coaſt of the South ſea, the royal garriſon ſo long deſired: at the ſame time impowering him to take out of the revenue, whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for this ſervice, and ſend an account of the whole to his majeſty. This ſchedule came to Mexico in the year 1709, and being referred to the treaſurer, he was of opinion, that every article ought to be fulfilled: and the viceroy having alſo complied, ſignified his aſſent in the following order, " Agreeably to the opinion of the treaſurer, it is hereby directed that, for the more proper execution of the royal warrant, relative to paying and aſſiſting the Leeward garriſons, his majeſty's new ſchedule be taken into deliberation, and the ſeveral papers be laid before the council, as to it belongs the firſt conſideration of ways and means for publick affairs, and for the preſent execution of what his majeſty has expreſly commanded; and the treaſurer, agreeable to ſuch commands, has required, the ſecretary's office ſhall make enquiry after, and regiſter all ſuch military perſons within this city, who ſhall be found to be acquainted with thoſe countries and ſeas, that the expedition, may, purſuant to his majeſty's orders, be commenced without delay."

This decree, ſuſpended the execution of the ſchedule, relating to the immediate payment of the thirteen thouſand dollars, it being referred to the deliberation of the general aſſembly of the royal council: though by the king's ſchedule, all kinds of deliberation on this point, had been precluded. However the viceroy continued in the diſcharge of his office, without taking any notice of California, till the end of the year 1710, when he was ſucceeded by the duke de Linares, don Fernando de Lancaſter Noronna y Sylva, who made his entry into Mexico on the firſt of January 1711.

This excellent nobleman, who as ſon of don Auguſtine de Lancaſter, duke de Abraites, marquis de Porto Seguro, and Val de Fuentes, count de Mejorado, and ſon to donna Juana de Noronna y Sylva, ducheſs of Linares, united in himſelf through various lines, the royal houſes of Caſtile, Portugal, and England; and who to his great perſonal qualities, added the experience he had acquired as vicar of Italy, viceroy of Sardinia, and lieutenant general of the armies of Spain. An affection to the jeſuits was hereditary in this nobleman's family: and accordingly during the whole courſe of his government, he zealouſly took the miſſions of California under his protection, beſtowed large ſums of his own money, for the advancement of them, and ſolicited contributions from other perſons of wealth in Mexico. At the expiration of his viceroyſhip, in which he was ſucceeded by his couſin don Gaſpar de Zumiga marquis de Valero, being free from any diſeaſe, and preparing to return to Spain, he directed by his will, ſealed on the 26th of March 1717, in the city of Mexico, the third part of his eſtate, which was all he had the diſpoſal of, by reaſon his father was ſtill alive, for the uſe of the miſſions of California, in the 17th clauſe, which runs thus: "I direct that of my eſtate, there be given to the miſſions of California, five thouſand doubloons, to be at the diſpoſal of the fathers,

who

who ſhall be in the miſſions, if I die in this kingdom: but if in Europe, the ſaid ſum ſhall be paid to the agent general of the reverend ſociety of jeſuits, to be remitted to theſe provinces."

As he was on the point of going to Vera Cruz in order to embark, he was taken very ill; and on the 28th of May in the ſame year, he opened his will to reviſe it: after which he ſealed it up again. And though by two codicils he altered ſome other particulars, the devout legacy he left to the miſſion of California, remained untouched; and in theſe happy ſentiments he died on the 3d of June, in the ſame year, in the arms of father Franciſco de Solchaga, a jeſuit, and profeſſor of divinity in that capital. But notwithſtanding the excellent diſpoſitions of this nobleman as a private perſon, he neither did, nor could do any thing for the miſſion as a viceroy; the former royal ſchedules were ſo cloſely ſecreted that he knew nothing of them, and in his time no order came to court relating to California; nor did the fathers ſolicit any favour knowing nothing of the laſt ſchedules before-mentioned; having been without the leaſt hope of any extraordinary aſſiſtance from the year 1705: for even the ordinary pay was greatly behind in all the miſſions, that all they could do was by their own means to forward the conqueſt, which however at this rate, could move but very ſlowly. The like happened in Sonora and Pimeria to father Kino, who, with great concern, ſaw the harveſt of very extenſive countries, ripe for the ſickle of the goſpel, loſt for want of proper ſupplies and labourers. By theſe wants California neceſſarily ſuffered, not only on account of the ſuccours which it might hope for from Pimeria, if once reduced and cultivated; and from its coaſt along the gulf which had been diſcovered and ſurveyed as far as the river Colorado; but likewiſe as the capital deſign was to carry on the conqueſt on both ſides of the gulf to the above-mentioned river; and where the miſſions being joined and reciprocally aſſiſting each other by land, to continue and extend it as far as the fruitful coaſt of Puerto de Monte-Rey. This enterpriſe, ſo very important, fathers Salva-Tierra and Kino would certainly have accompliſhed, had they been aſſiſted according to his majeſty's order; but every thing went againſt them. I have been particular in relating the obſtacles they met with, that it may be ſeen whether they who throw the blame of the little progreſs made in theſe miſſions on the company, have ſo much as a ſhadow of reaſon on their ſide. I have connected the events of different years, that I might not frequently break the thread of the narrative. Let us now return to father Salva-Tierra, whom, in Auguſt 1705, we left viſiting the college of Guadalaxara. The father provincial had ſoon concluded the viſitation of that college, as likewiſe his conferences with the members of the audience and others, benefactors to California: and having obtained for it what ſuccours he could, he went to Matanchel, where he embarked, and on the 30th of Auguſt, after a pleaſant paſſage, came to an anchor in San Dionyſio bay, within ſight of his beloved miſſion of Nueſtra Sennora de Loretto de la California: he landed to the inexpreſſible joy of himſelf, the fathers, the ſoldiers, and even the Indians who looked upon them as their common father. He found them all in no very agreeable ſituation, notwithſtanding the ſuccours which father Piccolo was very aſſiduous in ſending them from Sonora. The provincial had nominated him viſitor of the miſſions of that province, as this employment required a perſon of his activity and zeal, and likewiſe, as by his authority and intereſt, he could moſt conveniently draw from theſe miſſions, though themſelves but poor, thoſe ſuccours of proviſions which were abſolutely wanting in California. In this father Piccolo was ſo alert that his care and charity may be ſaid to have this year ſaved the miſſion. The venerable provincial on the ſame day, namely, the 30th of Auguſt, informing him of his arrival at Loretto, returned him thanks in the following manner: "God reward your reverence for the ſuccours you have ſent to theſe fathers, whom otherwiſe at my coming hither I ſhould have found dead." The ſufferings of the fathers were not a little increaſed by the cruelty and haughtineſs of the captain Eſcalante, who as little reliſhed his ſubjection to the fathers as the whole body of the garriſon did his command over them. Such was the uneaſineſs occaſioned by his miſconduct, that father Ugarte found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending an account of it to father Salva-Tierra at Mexico, in order for redreſs. It was on this account that the father brought with him the Portugueſe don Eſtevan Rodriguez Lorenzo, whom he now made captain: and at the ſame time by his wonderful ſweetneſs, ſo far prevailed over Eſcalante's reſentment of his removal, that for ſome time he continued in California as a common ſoldier, till he was promoted to be captain-lieutenant in the garriſon of Nacoſari, from whence he had come.

The venerable provincial ſtaid two months in California, labouring with the people of the garriſon and among the Indians, as if he had been a ſimple miſſionary. He was informed that the fathers immediately after his abſence ſeparated, father Baſaldua to San Juan Londo; father Juan Ugarte to San Xavier, and father Pedro de Ugarte to Loretto, in order to improve himſelf further in the language, and to ſuperintend the garriſon. Father Juan Ugarte had that year at San Xavier cleared many pieces of ground in order for ſowing; and was habituating his Indians to the labours of the field, in which to inſtruct and encourage them he was always the firſt. He had likewiſe made ſeveral progreſſes up the country and brought ſeveral rancherias to form themſelves into villages. The like had been done by father Baſſaldua in San Juan Londo, the town of which was now become much enlarged; ſome of them ſettled and civilized voluntarily; others were hunted and brought like wild beaſts from among precipices of the mountains: ſo that in theſe two miſſions, and their towns of viſitation, no leſs than at the principal of Loretto, were performed the uſual exerciſes of catechiſing the young and the adult, the diſtribution of pozoli, and other things pertaining to the miſſion. The provincial went over all the miſſions, viſited the villages which were begun, and the rancherias in friendſhip with them; winning the hearts of all the Indians by the facility of his inſtructions, and the endearing ſweetneſs of his behaviour. He recommended the ſettlement of the two miſſions at Ligni or Malebat, and on the river Mulege; and gave the proper directions for its being put in execution without delay. There being only three miſſionaries, it was neceſſary that one ſhould take on him the care of the garriſon of Loretto, and of the miſſions of San Xavier and Londo, whilſt the reſt of the fathers were ſettling the two other miſſions. This was a fatigue to which no ſingle man was equal. The temporal care of the garriſon, its magazines, the proviſions, and diſtribution of them; the paying of the ſoldiers and ſailors; the care of the ſick and of the Indians; and the remittance of proviſions, and other ſuccours to the abſent fathers and ſoldiers, was as much as the moſt diſengaged perſon could diſcharge. But God provided a proper remedy for this neceſſity. The father provincial had brought with him from Mexico, brother Jayme Bravo, a perſon very active and underſtanding, and likewiſe of a religious deportment: and who had attended on the deceaſed viſitor Pineyro. For this brother underſtanding that he was going to California, had earneſtly requeſted him that he might accompany him in ſo long and difficult a voyage. Brother Jayme's intent herein was with the provincial's vincial's permiſſion to remain in California to aſſiſt the fathers in offices relating to the miſſion. The conjuncture favoured his deſire: and beſides his repeated requeſt, the father provincial ſaw that the miſſionaries greatly wanted, and were deſirous of a brother to eaſe them of the care of temporal concerns, that they might employ themſelves wholly in their prieſtly function. Accordingly he recommended to them this fervent brother, who, for the ſpace of fourteen years, ſerved the miſſion as temporal co-adjutor with diſtinguiſhed zeal, till it was thought proper to admit him to the prieſthood, that he might ſerve as a zealous miſſionary. The provincial concluded his viſitation without leaving any written orders for the future government, whether from humility, or that he judged them unneceſſary; only directing that copies might be taken of the inſtitutes, drawn up for other miſſions by father Hernando Cavero the viſitor: and ſuch articles as were practicable in California, to obſerve them. Afterwards having taken his leave of the fathers, ſoldiers, and his Indians, with all the affection of a parent, he embarked for New Spain to ſuperintend the government of his province, till the diſcharge from his office, which he had deſired, came from Rome.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

The two miſſions of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui, and of Santa Roſalia Mulege; Progreſs of the others, and a new ſurvey of the coaſt of the South-ſea.

The provincial had recommended three things chiefly to his Californian miſſionaries; to ſettle without delay the two miſſions S. and N. of Loretto; to make progreſſes up the country in ſearch of convenient ſpots for new miſſions, offering, when ſuch were found, to provide miſſionaries; and laſtly, to take a ſurvey in other parts of the oppoſite coaſt of the South ſea, in order to find out ſome place proper for the Philippine ſhips to put into, which had been ſo ardently deſired. The father was no ſooner out of the country, than the foundation of the miſſions was taken in hand. On the ſame day, being the laſt of November 1705, the two fathers, under the auſpices of the great mother, patronneſs of the miſſion, ſet out by land, taking different routs: father Pedro de Ugarte going for the coaſt of Ligui, 14 leagues S. of Loretto; and father Juan Manuel de Baſſaldua to the river Mulege, at the diſtance of 40 leagues northward, whilſt father Juan Ugarte ſtaid to take care of the three former miſſions and their villages. Father Pedro had not much difficulty in reaching the ſhore, the country not being that way very rugged. This tract the Monquis in their language call Ligui, and the Laymones in their's Malibat. It then received the name of San Juan Baptiſta, in honour of don Juan Baptiſta Lopez, an inhabitant of Mexico, who offered to endow this miſſion with a capital of ten thouſand dollars, keeping the money in his own hand, and paying the council intereſt. Afterwards by the misfortunes of commerce, this benefactor failed, and there was an end of the miſſion's fund; which, however, was not forſaken, till it had converted all the Indians of the neighbouring country, and put its rancherias and villages under the care and viſitation of other miſſions. Father Pedro Ugarte found his Indians perfectly quiet, peaceable, and without any apprehenſion, though the only ſhelter he had for ſome time among them, was the ſhade of the meſquites; and afterwards of a hut made with branches of trees, whilſt the chapel and a little dwelling of adoves, or raw bricks, was building. He endeavoured by little preſents and careſſes, to gain the affections of his Indians, not ſo much that they ſhould aſſiſt him in the building, as that they might take a liking to the catechiſm, which he explained to them as well as he could, by the help of ſome Indians of Loretto, while he was perfecting himſelf in their language. But his kindneſs was loſt on the adults, who, from their invincible ſloth, could not be brought to help him in any one thing, though they partook of, and uſed to be very urgent with him for the pozoli and other eatables. He was now obliged to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the boys, who being allured by the father with ſweetmeats, and preſents, accompanied him wherever he would have them: and to habituate theſe to any work it was neceſſary to make uſe of artifice: ſometimes he laid a wager with them who ſhould ſooneſt pluck up the meſquites and ſmall trees; ſometimes he offered rewards to thoſe who took away moſt earth; and it ſuffices to ſay, that in forming the bricks, he made himſelf a boy with boys, challenged them to play with the earth, and dance upon the clay. The father uſed to take off his ſandals and tread it, in which he was followed by the boys ſkipping and dancing on the clay, and the father with them; the boys ſung and were highly delighted; the father alſo ſung; and thus they continued dancing and treading the clay in different parts, till meal time. This enabled him to erect his poor dwelling, and the church;

at the dedication of which the other fathers aſſiſted. He made uſe of ſeveral ſuch contrivances in order to learn their language; firſt teaching the boys ſeveral Spaniſh words that they might afterwards teach him their language: when, by the help of theſe maſters, the interpreters of Loretto, and his own obſervation and diſcourſe with the adults, he had attained a ſufficient knowledge of it, he began to catechiſe theſe poor gentiles, uſing a thouſand endearing ways that they ſhould come to the catechiſm; he likewiſe made uſe of his boys for carrying on their inſtruction. Thus, with invincible patience and firmneſs under exceſſive labours, he went on humanizing the ſavages who lived on the ſpot, thoſe of the neighbouring rancherias and others whom he ſought among woods, breaches, and caverns; going about every where, that he at length adminiſtered baptiſm to many adults; and brought this new ſettlement into ſome form. Father Pedro was pleaſing himſelf that his labours had at length produced ſome promiſing fruit, when a ſlight accident, not to mention others, had nearly ruined all. The father was ſent for to aſſiſt a chriſtian woman, who was ſick; but on his coming found a ſorcerer whom he did not know, blowing her according to cuſtom. The father having

ing made him depart and reproved his converts and catechumens for ſuffering any ſuch thing, confeſſed the patient, adminiſtered the holy unction to her, and was with her till her death. A few days after, ſome Indians came with great joy to tell the father that they had been in queſt of the blowing ſorcerer and had killed him: the father did not fail ſeverely to reprimand them, and thinking it neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion to avoid diſturbances, ſent them away with ſome anger: but this was ſo far from pleaſing them, that they conceived a reſentment againſt the father, tho' they were artful enough to conceal it by a fair carriage; and the way he came to the knowledge of their bloody reſolution, was by a boy who attended on him, and one night aſked leave that he might go and lie with his friends: the father denied it; but finding the boy to be more than uſually urgent, aſked him what made him ſo deſirous of going? The boy ſimply replied, "Becauſe, father, this night they intend to kill you, and told me if I was with you, they would kill me alſo." The father on this ſent for ſome of the heads, and with great reſolution and an undaunted air, told them, I know that you have formed a deſign of killing me to night, but remember with this muſket (though it was old and uſeleſs) I'll firſt make a ſlaughter of you all;

and then haſtily withdrew, leaving the poor Indians ſo terrified, that conſulting with the reſt, they determined to ſhift their quarters that very night; ſuch is their cowardice and dread of fire-arms. The next day the father was obliged to go and look after them: and it was with great difficulty, and after many aſſurances that he loved them as his children and that he meant to do them good, never intending to do them any harm, that he could prevail on them to return. They believed him as they found he did not fear them, and returned eaſy and contented to their huts. I have been particular in this adventure to avoid mentioning others of a like nature, which happened every day in the new miſſions. No patience, no courteſy, no prudence, no liberality, are a ſufficient ſecurity to the life of a miſſionary among ſuch ſavages: the ſacrifice of his life is what every miſſionary in a ſavage country, ſhould ſolemnly reſolve on, as by the ſtupidity and fickleneſs of the Indians, it is every day in danger. Father Pedro Ugarte continued in his miſſion of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui or Malibut, till the year 1709, when his conſtitution ſunk under ſuch ſevere fatigues, that there was a neceſſity for the recovery of his health to ſend him to Mexico, where at the ſame time he might negociate the affairs of the miſſion, and father Franciſco

Paralto came in his ſtead to Ligui: but that active father was no ſooner recovered to a tolerable degree, than he returned to California, re-aſſuming the labours of his miſſion, till falling ſick a ſecond time, he was tranſlated to the miſſions of the river Yaqui, which he deſired preferably to any other; as for them he might be a very uſeful agent and purveyor for poor and barren California.

Father Juan Manuel de Baſſaldua, who on the ſame day in 1705, went from Loretto northwards with great difficulty, by reaſon of the cragginеſs of the country, reached Conception bay. The diſtance from it by land to the little river Mulege is very ſhort; but ſo rugged and woody, that it had been in vain attempted twice before. Theſe difficulties however father Baſſaldua now ſurmounted, by cutting thro' the wood, rolling away the ſtones, filling up ſloughs, and opening a way large enough for beaſts: and thus at length found himſelf happily on the banks of the Mulege, where in the moſt convenient ſpot he fixed his miſſion with the ſame labours and dangers as father Pedro de Ugarte had gone through at Ligui; beſides the labour of making a road of 40 leagues from thence to the garriſon of Loretto, and of frequently repairing it. His miſſion he conſecrated to Santa Roſalia at the deſire of don Nicolas de Arteaga and donna Joſepha Vallego, his ſpouſe, inhabitants of Mexico, who endowed it with a fund of ten thouſand crowns. The father built the dwelling and church with adoves, at the diſtance of three quarters of a league from the ſea, and near the river. Betwixt this and the ſierra, or the chain of hills, runs a plain of ſeven leagues all over covered with meſquites, which, tho' it afforded good paſture for black cattle, ſheep, and ſwine; none of it has been turned to tillage till theſe three laſt years, when a ſluice was made for diſtributing the water, as otherwiſe in a country where rain is ſo ſcarce and uncertain, all induſtry would be in vain. The Indians hereabouts are of a lively, mild diſpoſition, and leſs fickle and variable than others: the father continued, during four years, inſtructing them with indefatigable care, and bringing them together and uniting them from all parts, till, on account of ſickneſs, he was obliged to be removed to the other ſide, where he was inveſted with the miſſion of San Joſeph de Guaymas, belonging to the government of California, that he might there attend to the relief of it. This he diligently diſcharged, both whilſt he continued there, as likewiſe when he was at Raum, and the river Yaqui, whither he was afterwards removed. At Santa Roſalia Mulege he was ſucceeded by father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, who having gone through his viſitation of the miſſions of Sonora, withdrew to California: he ruled it in an apoſtolical manner for ſeveral years, till, on the death of the venerable father Salva-Tierra, he was ordered to Loretto. He extended the ſpiritual conqueſt northward ſeveral leagues. He made many uſeful progreſſes up the country, endearing himſelf to the people, preaching the goſpel to them and diſcovering many tracts where new miſſions were planted, and their viſitation towns, as that of Guadalupe, la Puriſſima Conception & San Ignaſio: at length in the year 1718, he delivered up the care of the miſſion to father Sebaſtian de Siſtiaga, who officiated there many years with the ſame zeal and fatigues as his predeceſſors; and turned ſome pieces of land into fields, which were watered by the ſluice made in the river. Such was the diligence of the fathers in their inſtructions, that many adults of the miſſion are not only admitted to the annual communion, but likewiſe intermediately. Beſides, many Indians have been brought to talk tolerable Spaniſh, and have ſerved as interpreters in progreſſes into other nations; and likewiſe in aſſiſting and teaching new miniſters: ſome of them have laboured with extraordinary fidelity jointly with the fathers: and among theſe for their devotion, loyalty, and labours, Bernardo

Dababa,

Dababa, and Andres Comanay, deſerve particular mention; and great encomiums are given them in the narratives and letters of ſeveral miſſionaries whom they attended: being of great ſervice to them in all their apoſtolical labours and difficult enterpriſes.

There being only three prieſts in California, one having charge of three miſſions, and the other two employed in the foundation of the new; the ſecond charge of the provincial to diſcover inland places for new miſſions, could hardly be complied with. But brother Jayme Bravo undertook it; and to this end went from Loretto in the beginning of the following year 1706, taking with him a proper quantity of proviſions, accompanied by the Portugueſe captain, ſeven ſoldiers, and ſome Indians. He firſt viſited San Juan Baptiſta Ligui, where father Pedro de Ugarte was modelling his miſſion; from thence they travelled on a day and a-half along the ſhore; brother Jayme with the captain and two ſoldiers walked before; but they were ſoon obliged to return, an Indian of the company bringing them word that the four other ſoldiers were dying. The caſe was this; one of the ſoldiers ſaw a fire where the Indian fiſhermen had juſt been roaſting fiſh, and among them were ſome of a ſpecies called Botates, the livers of which contain a very active poiſon, and had been left by the Indians on ſome ſhells: a ſoldier ſeeing them, called out to his comrades, "a fry, a fry!" they all ſtopped; but as they were going to eat, an Indian called to them not to eat it, for that it would kill them: to this the ſoldier who had firſt ſpied them, anſwered, none of your noiſe, Indian, a Spaniard never dies; and immediately gave ſome to the other three. Of theſe one eat ſome; another chewed, but did not ſwallow it; the other more cautious, only handled and viewed this part. It was not long before they were all proportionably ſeized violently with convulſive pains. The firſt expired within half an hour, and was ſoon followed by the ſecond; the third remained ſenſeleſs till the day following: and both he and the fourth were in a very bad condition for ſeveral days. It is natural to think that brother Jayme and the others muſt have been ſenſibly affected with this misfortune. They were now obliged to give over the enterpriſe, and return to Ligui with the dead, who were buried in the conſecrated ground belonging to the chapel; and the ſick were ſent to Loretto.

In the mean time the magnanimous father Juan Ugarte made his celebrated progreſs for diſcovering and reconnoitring the coaſt of the South-ſea, agreeably to father Salva-Tierra's third injunction: and having made ſeveral viſitations at Loretto and San Juan de Londo, his principal care was for promoting his miſſion of San Xavier. It was not without reaſon that the venerable father Salva-Tierra uſed always to call father Ugarte the apoſtle: for ſublime as the title was, his labours were not unworthy of it. Always in action and indefatigable; preſent every where, and doing every thing. He attempted every thing, and he accompliſhed every thing: but his activity never ſo ſignally appeared as in theſe beginnings where the difficulties ſeemed unſurmountable: ſometimes he was preaching, aſſiſting, admoniſhing, and attending the ſoldiers: at other times he was ſearching for new ſpots of ground for villages and fields; ſometimes baptiſing the children; and ſometimes inſtructing the adults; ſometimes adminiſtering the ſacraments to the ſick, and performing the laſt offices to the dying. Sometimes he worked in the buildings; ſometimes in the field in making water trenches, plantations, and fields; ſometimes he was mending the roads; ſometimes helping to get ready the barks for ſea. In fine, he was continually labouring in every kind of employment, and the greateſt fatigue he took upon himſelf. As he was now reaping the temporal fruits of his induſtry and labour for his Indians, they were now more eaſily brought to obſerve the appointed diviſion of maſs, prayer, catechiſm, roſary, explanations, and ſermons, and other methods for inſtruction in chriſtianity; inſomuch that he had ſet penalties for thoſe who were abſent at theſe exerciſes; as a diminution of their allowance, or ſome ſtripes according to the nature of their offence. The children were the objects of his greateſt care; their innocent age being more ſuſceptible of a chriſtian education. The ſeminary was the father's houſe, where ſome of them continued all teaching them with unwearied patience ſuch parts of knowledge as were valuable, even among the Spaniards: and many of them made not only capable of inſtructing the rancherias, but an example of good behaviour to them. For the girls, eſpecially ſuch as were orphans, a ſeparate houſe was built; where a miſtreſs inſtructed them in the little works proper for the ſex; the father taking upon himſelf the religious part of their education.

Another building was erected for an hoſpital, where the father's charity ſignally appeared in the ſpiritual and temporal aſſiſtance of the ſick till death, which, in many, was accompanied with great ſigns of ſalvation. With one of theſe father Echeverria, viſitor of California, being at San Xavier, was extremely affected:

he had made his general confeſſion to father Ugarte in his own language, and had ſeveral times in the Spaniſh language entered into farther particulars of his confeſſion with the viſitor, begged of him that as he was unable to go to church, he would be ſo kind as to come and pray over the roſary with him. He aſked pardon of his countrymen for his ill example; he declared, that he deſired then to die, leſt he ſhould return to his former wicked courſes; he exhorted his relations to live piouſly, and obey the fathers: and thus amidſt aſpirations of love and confidence in God, he delivered up his ſoul into his hands. Another and he, a very obſtinate ſorcerer, or impoſter, God was pleaſed to bring to the faith; being ſtrongly affected with the love ſhewn by the father to his little ſon, who he was very urgent of having baptized; but unwilling to ſubmit to learn the catechiſm. At length he complied, and was catechiſed by the father, to whom, againſt his natural repugnancy, he laid open the myſteries of the preſtiges with which he and others deceived the nation. At his baptiſm he was called Doningo; and now full of joy at being a chriſtian, he made the houſe and the church his continual abode, praying night and day during the few weeks he ſurvived his happy admiſſion into chriſtianity. The father, in order to wean the ſavages from their ſuperſtitious burials, had his funeral performed with great ſolemnity. Another famous ſorcerer, who, for a long time had been continually ſtirring up the gentiles and catechumens againſt the fathers, came all in tears to Loretto, where father Ugarte then was, intreating that he might then be baptized. His tears and vows of amendment, and his offer to ſtay at Loretto, induced the father to take him under his care; and he baptized him on St. Ambroſe's day, being the 7th of December 1705; giving him the name of that ſaint. The next day the father went to celebrate the feſtival of the conception at his own town of San Xavier: on the 9th he returned to Loretto, where he found the new chriſtian had ſpent the greateſt part of his time in the church: the ſame day, being taken ill, the father never left him in his laſt hours, and he died with great marks of having been called by that Being, in whoſe hands is the deſtiny of all men.

Amidſt theſe occupations, father Juan Ugarte alſo made the laſt diſpoſitions for the progreſs towards ſurveying the ſouth coaſt, the chief of the Yaqui nation, of whom the father had aſked forty warriors for the enterpriſe, came with them himſelf. The captain of the garriſon of Loretto attended the expedition with twelve ſoldiers and ſome Indians; the beaſts and proviſions for the march were all got ready, and father Ugarte and brother Bravo on the 26th of November 1706, with theſe ſeveral bodies divided into three companies, ſet out in good order from Loretto. The firſt place they came to was the miſſion of St. Xavier; next to the viſitation town of Santa Roſalia; afterwards they came to a brook, to which they gave the name of San Andres, having by the ſide of it celebrated maſs on that apoſtle's day. By the way they met with ſeveral Indians who behaved peaceably. But when they came near the ſea, above two hundred Indians of the Guaycura nation, who bore an inveterate hatred to the Spaniards, who now found it neceſſary to march circumſpectly and ready for action. They took a view of the coaſt for many leagues ſouthward; but found only ſeveral creeks and ſome rancherias, who lived by fiſhing. But the only freſh water along the coaſt was in little wells dug by the Indians. They marched back towards the north, and unhappily found the coaſt much the ſame, ſo that they were for ſome time greatly diſtreſſed for want of water: they halted near the bed of a dry rivulet, along which, in times of rain, the waters run down into the ſea, and the willows and flags manifeſted the moiſture of the ſoil. From thence they ſent ſome to take a farther view of the coaſt, with orders not to travel ten or eleven leagues. In the mean time they followed the bed of the river both upwards and downwards in queſt of water, but without ſucceſs. They then diſperſed themſelves ſeveral ways to look out for a clean ſpot of ground which had ſome water, for paſſing the night; but during the whole month of December no water could be found for man or beaſt. Thus tired and periſhing for thirſt, they found a ſhelter for that night, and kindled fires to relieve themſelves from the cold; they alſo let looſe the beaſts, as they poſſibly in roving, might find water: but with all their contrivance and diligence, it proved a very painful night to them. In the morning the father celebrated the maſs of the conception of our lady, with humble ſupplications to God, through the immaculate mother, that he would not permit them all to periſh on a day ſo much his own. All devoutly accompanied the father's ſupplications, at the ſame time that father Pedro was ſaying maſs at Loretto, for the good ſucceſs of the diſcovery. After maſs our lady's litany was ſung; but before ſervice was over, a Yaqui Indian called out in his tongue, water, water! On coming up to the place it was found to be the ſame, which, in the evening, and at night, ſeveral had paſſed and viewed without perceiving a drop of water. The place beſides was dry; that no water was naturally to be expected there: however it now afforded a ſufficiency for ſatiſfying the whole company, together with the beaſts, and for filling ſeveral veſſels to ſerve in the return, which was reſolved on the very ſame day, after a ſolemn thankſgiving to the bleſſed virgin; for the ſurveyors were returned, reporting that they had, according to orders, reconnoitred the coaſt till they came to a wide bay, but that it afforded no water. Thus, without any advantage from this chargeable expedition, they returned to Loretto, where they again celebrated a maſs to the patroneſs of the miſſion; for having ſo remarkably ſaved them from periſhing on theſe barren coaſts.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Father Salva-Tierra returns to CALIFORNIA; his labours there. The miſſion of San Joſeph de Comonda founded by father Mayorga; the miſſion greatly ſuffers by the loſs of the barks, and the ſhipwreck of the fathers Guillem and Guiſci, the latter of which was drowned.

Whilſt the miſſionary fathers in California were thus employed in the execution of father Salva-Tierra's orders, his diſcharge from the office of provincial, which he had petitioned for, came from Rome: wherefore the father, general Miguel Angel Tamburim, conferred the patent of provincial on father Bernardo Rolandegui, the province's agent at Madrid and Rome, who being returned to Mexico, entered on his office on the 17th of September 1706. Father Salva-Tierra with great ſatisfaction returned to the college of San Gregorio, that together with father Alexandro Romano appointed agent for California, he might provide the accounts required by the ſoldiers, and the goods and proviſions for the garriſons and miſſions. Father Julian de Mayorga, already appointed miſſionary, though but lately arrived from Spain, together with father Rolandegui, directing that they ſhould be forwarded from Matanchel harbour whither the bark ſhould be ſent: but the father, inſtead of embarking at Matanchel travelled above four hundred leagues by land through the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora as far as the harbour of Ahome, in compliance with the deſires of the benefactors of his miſſion; and to collect free contributions and ſuccours for it. The father in his laſt voyage from California to Mexico, had brought with him five Indians of a good genius from different rancherias, leaving the three which he had brought the firſt time, for their further improvement: as having ſeen the beauties of chriſtianity in the ſettled churches in New Spain, they might give the more favourable account of them to their countrymen. The five Californians were received every where with great kindneſs by the jeſuits, who looked on them as the firſt fruits to God and the lamb in this laborious miſſion.

But by the unhealthineſs of the country, the change of climate and food, they all five fell ſick in this long voyage, and the delays which their caſe now required, greatly increaſed other ſevere inconveniences which happened to them. At length they came to Ahome, where, on the 30th of January 1707, they embarked for Loretto. They were ſcarce at ſea when one of the Indians, called don Jego Joſeph, was again ſeized with a fatal illneſs. But ſuch was his ſerenity and reſignation, that he fervently prayed the Almighty to remove him from this life before he reached California, if he had no further ſervice for him. The father viſited him in his laſt moments, and theſe were employed in ſuch acts of all religion expreſſed with a ſpirit and energy, as filled even the oldeſt chriſtians with a devout envy of his felicity. The loſs of this excellent perſon was followed by a furious ſtorm which father Salva-Tierra thus deſcribes:

"The night of the 31ſt of January was extremely dark, we were with the maſt laſhed, but without a rudder; and amidſt rocks and iſlands, the ſea continually making a free paſſage over us; the ſailors, ſpent with toil and hunger, having been without food for a day and a half, were proſtrate, giving all over for loſt. The leaſt damage which we could expect was to be drove into the ſea of Gallicia, or Acapulco; "triſtiſſima noctis imago!" The Californians got about me like chickens, and they were not my leaſt confidents, as being new-born ſons of the great madonna, and had run this riſk in her ſervice; "Ne quando dicant gentes," &c. Laſtly, concludes the father, after all my journeys and voyages, I never knew what dangers or diſtreſſes by land or ſea were, till now." They were driven by the tempeſt to San Joſeph, ten leagues S. of Loretto; in which they ſet up the firſt croſs, and afterwards the ſea being a little calm, they on the 3d of February reached the deſired ſhore, where they were received with univerſal joy. As for the Californians, they could not expreſs their aſtoniſhment at the wonders which their four countrymen related to them about New Spain. A few months after father Julian de Mayorga came from Matanchel, accompanied by the captain of Loretto, Rodrigues, who had gone over to be married to a lady of diſtinction of that province, and father Ignatio Alvarando, appointed for the miſſions of Sonora; father Julian was ſoon taken ill, his ſickneſs was owing both to the fatigue of the journey and the ſea, and the alteration of the climate; and his being alſo quite unaccuſtomed to the ſalt meat and maize, which was all the garriſon then afforded. And his illneſs daily increaſing by the unavoidable duty of aſſiſting at the offices, father Juan Maria reſolved to remove him to the coaſt of New Spain: but father Mayorga hearing of it, entreated him on his knees to die

in

in California, whither God, through the choice of his ſuperiors, had ſent him. However it pleaſed the divine mercy that he recovered; and inuring himſelf to fatigues and hardſhip, he ſerved in this miſſion with unwearied application, for the ſpace of thirty years. In the beginning of the year 1708, the fathers Salva-Tierra, and Juan de Ugarte carried him to a country twenty leagues N. W. of Loretto, in the center of the mountains, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from both ſeas: and in the country town called Comondu, in which were ſeveral rancherias of Indians ſituated near a little brook. Here father Mayorga was inveſted with the miſſion which was conſecrated to St. Joſeph, and endowed by that magnificent nobleman, the marquis de Villa Puente, as were the other two, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak. The fathers attended the new miſſionary for ſome days, aſſiſting him in getting his Indians together, and civilizing them; in building a chapel, and ſetting up huts of boughs, and bringing the miſſion into ſome form; after which they returned to their former occupations. Father Mayorga by degrees, and with the uſual fatigues, conſtituted his miſſion. He had ſome years before conſecrated his church with great ſolemnity. The greateſt part of his Indians he got together in two viſitation towns, San Ignacio and

San Juan, beſides San Joſeph the capital, and ſome ſcattered rancherias, who however conſtantly attended the catechiſm. He erected a ſeminary of boys in his houſe, and another of girls with a miſtreſs, as likewiſe an hoſpital; and entirely ſupplied all the three. He laid out ſome ſmall fields for maize near San Ignacio, the ſoil of the other two, admitting only of vines, which thrive very well there. His ſpiritual labours he diſcharged with ſuch zeal and affection, that it was a pleaſure to ſee the acquiſitions, the devotion, and good deportment of this little community; and in which it ſtill happily perſeveres, many Indians being admitted to the ſacrament within the year. Some years after he was ſucceeded in this cure by father Francis Xavier Wagmer, who died here on the 12th of October 1744, amidſt his ſucceſsful endeavours for the advancement of religion.

Some other ſpots convenient for founding miſſions had already been diſcovered: and within a few years on the return of father Salva Tierra to California, others more convenient were found; but the misfortunes and diſtreſſes by ſea and land, at that time hindered the total accompliſhment of the father's fervent deſires. The San Xavier bark, which, from the beginging of the miſſion, had hitherto been of great uſe in tranſporting proviſions, ſailed from Loretto in Auguſt 1709, with three thouſand dollars on board for purchaſing a ſupply, and to bring it over, together with what ſhould be given by the miſſionaries: but a violent ſtorm, which laſted three days, drove it on the barren coaſt of the Seris, beyond Puerto de Guaymas, and ſixty leagues north of Yaqui, where it was ſtranded among ſhelves and rocks; ſome of the men were drowned, and others ſaved themſelves in the boat. This diſaſter at ſea was followed by another on the land, and of no leſs conſequence: for this country being entirely inhabited by gentile Seris and Tepocas, at that time bitter enemies to the chriſtians of the miſſions among the Pimas, Cocomaques, and Guaymas, they were obliged after taking all the treaſure out of the launch, and burying it, to return in the boat, through a thouſand dangers and diſtreſſes to Yaqui. But the Seris ſoon raked up the depoſitum, took the helm from the bark, and damaged it very much in ſeveral places, to get out the nails. A diving bark was ſent to father Salva-Tierra with this account, and there being at the miſſion, no other veſſel but the Roſario, and that in a very bad condition, he reſolved to go in perſon, to repair the San Xavier. The father, whilſt viſitor of Sonora, had made a peace betwixt the Seris chriſtians, and the Pimas. However, it was not long before the Seris were guilty of a cruel violation of it, in the murder of forty Pimas; and though the ſoldiers of the neareſt garriſon purſued them to their coaſts, it availed little, for they made for the iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedes, and there was no diſlodging them without veſſels. Father Salva-Tierra had been applied to for thoſe of his miſſion, but there was no ſparing them, eſpecially as the fathers intended to go in perſon to the Seris, both for ſurveying the gulf, as far as the river Colorado, as likewiſe for reſtoring tranquility a ſecond time; hoping that by extending the ſpiritual conqueſt from California, he ſhould have no difficulty to convert and make chriſtians of them. Thus both coaſts would be reduced to the king and the goſpel. At the time this expedition was deferred, the diſtreſſes of his poor and vacant miſſion would not admit of the execution of any of theſe zealous ſchemes, however well concerted. But now, on the 6th of October, he went in the Roſario to Guaymas, where he directed that the bark ſhould ſail to the ancient deſerted port of San Juan Baptiſta, with ſeamen, officers, and proviſions; others were ordered in the boat to the ſhore, where the San Xavier was ſtranded. As for the father himſelf, he choſe to go by land, attended by fourteen Yaqui Indians, though it was extremely rugged, and inhabited by enemies, purely to have an opportunity of planting peace and religion among the Seris, and viſiting the Pimas and Guaymas.

In this journey, which was attended with great hardſhips, he came to the villages of the two laſt newly aſſembled by the fathers Piccolo and Baſſaldua, where he inſtructed the adults, and baptiſed the children. He brought many of the rancherias of the Seris and Tepocas to peaceable inclinations, which happy work, beſides his perſuaſive elocution, was not a little forwarded by the reſpectable ſweetneſs of his air, which never failed immediately to gain the hearts of the ſavages. Two days he and his company ſuffered a terrible thirſt, not having ſeen a ſingle drop of water during that time. At length he came where the San Xavier was ſtranded, and found the men belonging to the boat, deſtitute of all food, having only wild herbs to eat, which they boiled. He relieved them with what proviſions he brought, but they were ſoon ſpent among ſuch numbers. He had wrote to the fathers Fernando Bayerca and Miguel de Almazan, as the neareſt miſſionaries, to ſend him proviſions; but neither Indians nor Spaniards would venture to bring them through the country of the Seris, except one Indian, who boldly came with a ſmall ſupply, and to him the Seris were ſo friendly, as to ſhew him the way to the ſhore. The diſtreſs was ſuch at this time, that the father expecting nothing but death, wrote a letter to the marquis de Villa Puerte with a liſt of the debts of the miſſion, in order to the diſcharge of them; and this letter he gave to a faithful lad, to be delivered at Guaymas: but providence reſerved him for farther ſervices, for by the aſſiſtance of a little maize, furniſhed him by the ſavages, he was enabled to undertake a new journey to the harbour of San Juan Baptiſta, which the Roſaria had already reached, though he had ſtill fourteen leagues to travel. At a little diſtance, he found the rancheria of Indians, who had carried off the cargo of the San Xavier, and damaged the bark. Theſe appeared provoked and ſtood to their arms: an old man animating them with terrible vociferations. The father advanced alone towards them, and though unacquainted with the language, which is different from that of Pimera, he, by ſigns, kind geſtures, and little preſents to the old chief and his ſons, gained the good will of the Indians: but hearing the exploſions of the bark's pateraroes, an unuſual ſound to them, many of them were terrified, and brought him the money and goods they had plundered, and agreed to terms of peace with their neighbours.

The people of the Roſario came with proviſions to the ſhore where the San Xavier bark lay; but it was two months before ſhe was fit for the ſea; during which interval, they were ſeveral times in want of proviſions. For though the miſſionaries, who had now nothing to apprehend from the Seris, were not wanting to ſend them ſupplies, the quantity was not ſufficient for ſo large a number of people, this having been a very barren year through all New Spain. The father knowing, that thirty leagues up the country, there was a garriſon called Nueſtra Sennora de Guadaloupe, the captain of which, at that time, was don Franciſco Xavier Valenzuela, who had ſerved as a common ſoldier in Catalonia; he writ to him, who immediately ſent what ſuccours he could, and ſoon after came in perſon, with ſome of his men and a larger ſupply. But neither he nor his veterans, when they ſaw the diſtreſſes of the father and his company, could refrain from tears. The father, unwilling to loſe the time neceſſary for refiting the San Xavier, undertook the converſion of the ſavages of that coaſt. In order to this, he deſired father Almanaz to tranſlate the catechiſm into their language; and incited by little preſents, the Indians took it ſo readily, that he thought all his labours fully recompenſed. The Seris had ſome years before deſired baptiſm, and the fathers to inſtruct them like their neighbours: and above three hundred at the invitation of father Gaſper Thomas, miſſionary of Qucuguierpe had agreed to live at his miſſion. And many others deſired the ſame favour of father Adam Gil, miſſionary of Populo, who undertook to viſit them, offering to remove to his miſſion, though the climate was far from being deſirable. But father Gil, unable with all his application, to overcome the difficulties of their language, could never inſtruct them. He petitioned the father provincial, to be miſſionary to the Seris; but his miſſion was prevented by the revolt of the Tarahumares and their ſubſequent wars with the neighbouring Pimas and Guaymas. Their former requeſts, and their preſent inſtances, together with the deſire of inſtructing all from Guayma, and the oppoſite coaſt of California, to which the reduction of them was of ſuch importance, now determined father Juan Maria, to baptiſe their children, which they offered with a kind of emulation; but ſtill the reconciliation betwixt them was wanting; and in order to this, he invited the children of the ſeveral nations of the Seris, Pimas, Tepocas, and Guaymas, to a grand feaſt on the day of killing the cattle, which had been brought from the garriſon of Guadaloupe, for ſupplying the two barks. The old Indians came with the children, as the father imagined, without any apprehenſion, confiding in the reſpect which all paid him as their common benefactor. Here a peace was readily concluded, and the Seris were promiſed that they ſhould ſoon ſee miſſionaries among them, to inſtruct and take care of them.

The father was extremely affected at the unhappy ſtate of ſo many mortals, ſo well diſpoſed for embracing chriſtianity. On the other hand, he knew the arrears and incumbrances of the provinces, the difficulties of new miſſions, and above all, the want of ſubjects, on account of the calamities and diſturbances, that then reigned in Europe.

California, however, required the father's preſence; and accordingly, as ſoon as the bark was refitted, and he returned from viſiting, inſtructing, and comforting the people of Guadaloupe, he embarked and ſailed through the channel, betwixt the iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedes, finding it, contrary to common report, navigable. He afterwards went to San Xavier, and ſent back the Roſario to Loretto, going in the former to the bay of Conception, to pay a viſit to father Piccolo, who was already appointed to the miſſion of Santa Roſalia Mulege. From thence he ſailed to the bay of San

Dionyſio, or Loretto, highly pleaſed that he had diſcovered the part of the gulf deſired. He travelled over great part of the coaſt of the Seris, and along the mountains as far as the ſea. He ſettled peace among the inhabitants, and prepared them for the reception of the goſpel: and the Roſaria was ſaved from being taken by the Pitchilingues or pirates, better known among Europeans by the name of Freebooters, and the Engliſh and Dutch privateers which infeſted thoſe ſeas. Theſe, indeed, alarmed the viceroy's vigilance, but he ſent orders at that time to Loretto, that the Californian veſſel ſhould go out to meet the ſhip from the Philippine iſlands, and give them notice to keep at a great diſtance from the coaſt, as the enemy were looking out for her. The veſſel would certainly have fallen into their hands, being under a neceſſity of paſſing in ſight of the harbour of La Paz, where ſome of them lay. But the misfortune of the bark, hindered the execution of the viceroy's orders, and ſaved the veſſel from being taken by the enemy.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, the ſmall pox broke out in a terrible manner among the Indians, ſweeping away the far greater part of the children, and many of the adults. Nor was this all; the frequent ſcarcity, which reduced them to live only on maize and ſalt meat, unleſs

leſs when ſome refreſhments happily arrived from the other ſhore, gave riſe to many diſtempers in the garriſon, and proved fatal to ſeveral perſons. Theſe epidemias it was apprehended, would produce inſurrections in many rancherias already converted, the ſorcerers imputing the diſtempers to the father, and perſuaded the Indians that they killed the children with the water in baptiſm, and the adults with the extreme unction. Theſe ſeditious reports and falſities found too much credit, on account of the great number of people who died: and had not the Neophites been remarkably faithful to the fathers, the fruit of all their labours would at once have been loſt. Beſides theſe calamities, New Spain had from the year 1709; laboured under a continual ſcarcity, which greatly increaſed the difficulty of ſending ſuccours to California; and to complete the misfortunes of the miſſion, it loſt two barks, the expences of which were very heavy.

In November 1711, father Juan Maria ſent to Matanchel father Franciſco Peralta, who came to California two years before, and had the ſuperintendency of San Juan Ligui, in the room of father Ugarte, deſiring that he would aſſiſt at the intended repair of the Roſaria, and, if it was found neceſſary, to build another veſſel. But ſuch were the arts and frauds of the officers and ſailors, who had the care of the work, that, availing themſelves of the father's want of ſkill, after an expence of ſome thouſands of dollars, the bark was in a worſe condition than before; and within a few days, by the wicked contrivance of thoſe very perſons, though there was but little wind, run aſhore, though only in ballaſt, and broke to pieces. There was now a neceſſity for building another. The maſter builder was a Chineſe or Philippine, who, beſides his ignorance of his buſineſs, was an artful deceiver, having conducted the chargeable repair of the Roſaria, which he had the chief hand in running aſhore. Above a year and a half was ſpent in building this veſſel, through the various frauds of the perſons employed, ſo that the charge of it amounted to twenty-two thouſand dollars. And after ſo enormous an expence, the veſſel, inſtead of being ſafe, or a good ſailer, had neither beauty nor proportion. In this veſſel, however, they were to embark with the accounts and proviſions. They accordingly put to ſea, but the veſſel was immediately the ſport of the winds and waves, amidſt the continual murmurs and imprecations of the ſeamen, ſome of whom had been employed in building her. The wind drove them to cape San Lucas, and back again to the iſlands of Maſaztlan, where ſome, from a ſenſe of their danger, were unwilling to go on board a ſecond time. The others continued their unfortunate voyage; till, after many difficulties, they had ſight of the coaſt of Loretto. But on the night of the 8th of December, a ſtorm came on which drove the veſſel to the other coaſt, where they ran her aſhore.

In this extremity, they awakened all who were aſleep, that they might make uſe of boards and pieces of timber, or get on to the poop, where twenty-two perſons had ſought their ſafety, and among theſe the fathers Guillem and Doye, the others, to the number of ſix, beſides father Benſto Guiſi, being drowned. The diſmal ſcene of ſuch danger and diſtreſs, increaſed by the obſcurity and tempeſtuouſneſs of the night, may be better conceived than deſcribed. Four of the ſeamen cleared the little boat, and, thinking of nothing but their own ſafety, committed themſelves to the ſea. The others, who lay floating with the bark on the ſtern and main maſt, after a great deal of labour, unlaſhed the larger boat, but had nothing to bale out the water, except two ſmall calabaſhes. They took what firſt offered to ſerve for oars, and a piece of an old ſail: and thus put off, committing themſelves to the mercy of the waves till morning, when they found they were ſeveral leagues from the land. On this diſcovery, they made ſail towards it, and continued rowing for a day and a half againſt the current, miſtaking the land for California. But on going aſhore, the ſailers took it for the coaſt of Yaqui, though it proved to be of Cinaloa, one hundred leagues from Yaqui, whither the ſtrength of the current carried them in a few hours, to a ſmall creek called Barva-Chivato. How great muſt have been the miſeries of this ſhort paſſage, eighteen perſons in one boat, and all naked, wet, pierced with the cold, quite ſpent with rowing, without water, without food, and, when landed, without any other comfort than that of having eſcaped the ſea. They found no fire, nor utenſils for making any. And to ſatisfy their hunger, they were obliged to eat the oyſters, wilks, ſea weeds, roots, and wild herbs. The country was covered with briars and brambles, and though at every ſtep, their fleſh was lacerated in a terrible manner, there was a neceſſity for making their way through in queſt of the inhabitants. In this two days were ſpent, in extreme toil and pain, when it was their good fortune to find an open plain, where by the information of an Indian of the country, the governor of the town of Tamazula viſited them with horſes, water, and maize-cakes for their relief, and to enable them to reach the reſidence of the general Rezaval, which was but a few leagues off, and from thence they travelled to Guazave, the neareſt Cinaloa miſſion in that country. Here they refreſhed themſelves three days with father Franciſco Mazaregos, who, to cloath and entertain theſe ſhipwrecked perſons, liberally expended all the apparel and proviſions he was maſter of, the Indians chearfully following his example. Thence they proceeded to the town of Cinaloa, where they were ſeveral days entertained by father Juan Yrazoqui, rector of the college, till each departed to his appointed ſtation. All theſe hardſhips and dangers, inſtead of deterring father Guillem, were rather incentives to him; ſo that in a few days, he ſet out by land, on the long journey to the miſſions of Yaqui, in order, at the end of the following month of January 1714, to paſs over into California, when, in the San Xavier bark, he ſuffered a ſecond ſhipwreck. This occaſioned his being inveſted with the miſſion of San Juan Ligui, where he reſided ſeveral years, till he was called to the viſitation town. Now the miſſions and their ſupport, a ſecond time came to depend upon the San Xavier bark; and the proviſions and the other goods in the new Roſario, being utterly loſt, the cloathing and other commodities, ſent for by the fathers, ſeamen,

and

and ſoldiers, were wanting. They were without money, it having been exhauſted in purchaſing of an unfortunate veſſel and goods. And though the audience of Guadalaxara were pleaſed to take into conſideration the frauds committed by the officers and ſhipwrights, in building that veſſel, which had been loſt, and inflicted ſome puniſhment upon them; yet theſe examples had little effect in California. At laſt theſe misfortunes and dangers reached Mexico, and the viceroy immediately ordered the bilander, called Nueſtra Sennora de Guadaloupe, which had been regiſtered, to be ſent to California. She was valued at four thouſand dollars, chargeable on the aſſignment, with orders likewiſe to go on the diſcovery of ſome harbour for the Philippine ſhip: but after the third voyage, father Ugarte cauſed the bilander to be ſurveyed by an intelligent ſhipwright, who diſcovered great defects and frauds in her keel, the bottom and upper works; and the whole veſſel appeared to be patched up with pieces of a French ſhip, caſt away on the coaſt of Peru: and accordingly, the next voyage ſhe was loſt, only by ſtriking on a ſand bank. At the ſame time, another bark belonging to Peru was alſo loſt. She had been purchaſed about that time, inſtead of the San Joſeph, which, ſinking at Acapulco, had been ſold.

The San Xavier bark alſo ſuffered by bad weather; and her frequent repairs ran away with a great deal of time and money.

In the mean time the proviſions for the garriſon and miſſion, were brought in the diving barks of the inhabitants of the other ſhore; but the freights occaſioned an enormous expence without end. Such a ſeries of misfortunes hindered father Salva-Tierra from ſurveying the gulf on both ſides, with its iſlands, as far as the river Colorado, as he earneſtly deſired. The reduction of the Seris and Tepocas, of ſo much importance and ſo happily begun, was alſo diſcontinued, together with the ſearch for the harbour, on the ſouth coaſt, ſo much deſired for the Philippine ſhip. The miſſions in the north of California, were far from being ſettled as they ought to have been: and thoſe to the northward were at enmity with the Guaycuri, whom it was ſo neceſſary, both for the intereſt of the king and religion, to appeaſe and convert, that no enemies might be left behind, from Loretto to cape San Lucas.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and ſolicitudes, the Californian miſſionaries did not, as far as circumſtances would permit, abate their labours. They reduced many wandering rancherias into towns, whither the Indians uſed to repair for inſtruction, while the neceſſity of ſearching for fiſh and wild fruits, did not diſperſe them among the foreſts and along the ſhores. Father Ugarte made ſeveral progreſſes to the ſouthward from San Xavier, whilſt father Piccolo did the like to the northward, from Santa Roſalia Mulege; the Indians had ſeveral times come in great numbers from the rancherias of Cadigomo, near the coaſt of the South ſea, lying N. W. of Mulege, requeſting that he would come and viſit them, and bring with them a father to live in their country. Accordingly, in the year 1712, though in a bad ſtate of health, he complied with their deſire, being attended by the captain, ſome ſoldiers, and Indians. By the help of guides, they paſſed the mountains of Vajademin, and on the weſt ſide of it, met with a ſmall brook, which they followed to its iſſue into the ſea, in order to ſurvey that part of the coaſt. But finding it by no means proper for a ſettlement, they returned the ſame way, and at eight leagues diſtance from the ſea, the father marked out the ground for a new miſſion. Hither all the neighbouring rancherias reſorted, entreating him that he would ſtay with them; and as an inducement to comply with their deſires, they promiſed to give him their beſt pitahayas and feathers, as likewiſe their children for baptiſm. The father promiſed them a miſſionary, and was not wanting on the firſt opportunity, to beg that the father provincial would ſend a proper perſon; but it was not till five years after, that the miſſion could be founded, though the father, in the interim, viſited them ſeveral times from his own miſſion, whither they uſed to be continually coming with the ſame entreaties, though at the diſtance of thirty leagues, and the road very craggy and broken. The ſame requeſt was alſo made at different times, by the N. Cochimes, of the rancherias of Cada-kaaman, which in their language ſignifies Sedge-brook, lying on the ſkirts of the ridge of mountains, towards the coaſt of the South ſea, forty leagues diſtant from Santa Roſalia. This journey he undertook on the 6th of November 1706, with only three ſoldiers and ſome Mulege Indians, to take care of two large aſſes, on which they carried the proviſions for the whole company. After travelling three days, he was met on the ſhore of Amuna by the rancheria, to which in other progreſſes, the father had given the name of Santa Aguida: hence he viſited thoſe of Santa Lucia and Santa Nympha: and laſtly, on the 19th, came to the ſpring of the brook, where he found three new rancherias. They made great entertainments for the father, and accompanied him all the way from the place where they met, going before to remove the ſtones, and preſenting him with ſtrings of pitahayas, and ſhewing all poſſible demonſtrations of joy: as on the other hand, they ſhewed themſelves extremely concerned at ſeeing the hampers of proviſions wet; the aſſes having by the careleſſneſs of the attendants, run down into a pond, overgrown with ſedge. Many of the rancherias of the neighbourhood, alſo came hither with the ſame alacrity, the women eagerly bringing their children for baptiſm, which the father adminiſtered to fifty. He remained with them till the month of December, comforting and inſtructing them, and a large arbour was made for the celebration of maſs. He ordered the brook to be traced, and it was found that ten or twelve leagues further, it loſes itſelf under ground. As the place was fit for fields and paſtures, and every way convenient for ſettling a miſſion, he promiſed to ſend them a father who ſhould live among them, and take care of them, though for the want of labourers and other impediments, this could not be performed till the year 1728, when a miſſion was founded under the title of San Ignacio.

Proviſions now beginning to fail, and the cold ſetting in, which is there very ſenſible, it was thought adviſeable to return. And the

Indians ſent with him guides, that he might take another way by ſeveral unknown rancherias, whom he found equally inclined to receive the goſpel, if there had not been an irremediable want of preachers. The venerable father, not content with the diſcovery made by thoſe under him, was continually forming meaſures for ſurveying the gulf, and, at leaſt, once more viſit the Seris and the Tepocas, ſo unhappily forſaken. In the year 1716, he laboured very diligently towards pacifying the Guaycuros. In order to which, he ſailed in the Guadaloupe brigantine to La Paz, that being the ſcene of the ill-adviſed attempt of Otondo, the memory of which was continually refreſhed, by the mutual violences committed by the pearl fiſhers in the neighbourhood. He carried with him three Guaycuri priſoners, whom he took out of the pearl fiſhing barks of New Spain, that he might deliver them in peace to their countrymen: and that they might be witneſſes of the kind treatment, which the Indians at Loretto received from the fathers, but the deſign totally miſcarried. The father landed, together with the captain, ſoldiers, and Loretto Indians, who firſt leaped over-board and ſwam aſhore. The Guaycuros, who lived in huts along the ſhore, at the ſight of ſuch a number of people, haſtily betook themſelves to flight, with their wives and children, the Loretto Indians, and hurried on by that brutal impulſe, when it perceives cowardice in another, run after them among the rocks and woods, without regarding the orders of the father to ſtop. The Guaycuros out-ran them, but they came up with their wives, who finding the impoſſibility of making their eſcape, turned about, and made a ſhort defence with ſtones. But the Loretto Indians fell upon them with ſavage barbarity; and in their fury, had infallibly deſtroyed theſe innocent creatures, had not the captain and ſome of the nimbleſt of his ſoldiers come up to this infamous encounter, though it was with ſome difficulty our ſavages were reſtrained from any farther cruelties. But though the Guaycuri women muſt perceive the reſentment both of the captain and the ſoldiers, for this ſavage uſage, they did not overcome their fears, for the captain approaching them with an air of kindneſs, they immediately turned their backs, and betook themſelves to a ſecond flight. Father Salva-Tierra was extremely concerned at this adventure, but concealed his diſpleaſure. This was, however, no time for bringing about a peace, after this freſh inſult on the natives, in the perſons of their wives, nor would other circumſtances admit of any long ſtay at La Paz, till the minds of the ſavages were quieted;

ed; ſo that all the father could do, was to make the priſoners ſenſible that what had been done, was entirely contrary to the will and intention of himſelf and the Spaniards, the ſole end of whoſe coming to being enter into connections of friendſhip. He diſtributed little preſents among them, and diſmiſſed them very affectionately, that they might prepare their countrymen to accept of offers of peace on another occaſion. He now returned to Loretto, in the bilander, and afterwards ſent her to Matanchel for the goods, in which paſſage ſhe was ſtranded in a ſtorm, the whole cargo loſt, and nine perſons drowned. The only veſſel now left them, was the San Xavier, which had ſerved eighteen years, namely, from the commencement of the miſſion.

SECT. XI.

Father Salva-Tierra eſtabliſhes a ſpiritual and civil government for the miſſionaries of CALIFORNIA, and of the Indians.

In the ſame year 1716, amidſt ſo many diſappointments, father Salva-Tierra had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſeveral benefactions to the miſſions, already founded, ſecured in the manner he deſired, and likewiſe a better form of government eſtabliſhed. This will give us occaſion to ſpeak of that which the father introduced into California. From the firſt entrance into that country, the father ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of having an agent at Mexico, for collecting the revenues of the miſſions already founded, the contributions and ſuccours of the benefactors, for buying up the cloathing, proviſions, and other goods for ſupplying the fathers, ſoldiers, and mariners, employed in the reduction, together with the ſervice of the churches and the Indians; and likewiſe that he ſhould ſolicit the affairs of the miſſion, depending before the royal audience and the viceroy, attend to the purchaſe, building and repairing of veſſels, and manage all the temporal concerns of this conqueſt, ſo remote, and neceſſitous. During the firſt year, this was in an exemplary manner diſcharged by father Juan Ugarte. He was ſucceeded in his agency for California, by father Alexandro Romano, with a diſpenſation at the remonſtrance of father Salva-Tierra, from any other function or buſineſs, than the concerns of the miſſion, both as it required an agent free from any other incumbrance, and as the monies appropriated to California could by no means be mixed with thoſe of the colleges and the province; nor be exchanged or employed to any other end, than the intention of the benefactors,

nefactors. The father diſcharged this office with great zeal for ſeveral years, till in 1719, he was appointed provincial of New Spain: his ſucceſſor was father Joſeph Echevirria, who held it eleven years; when, in 1729, being nominated viſitor of California, he was ſucceeded by Hernan Franciſco Tompez, who, after acquitting himſelf with a prudence and activity, greatly to the advantage of the miſſion, was removed by death, in May 1750. His majeſty's aſſignment to the miſſions of New Spain, both thoſe ſerved by the jeſuits and other orders, is three hundred dollars a year, for the ſupport of the miſſionary and his unavoidable expences with the Indians: an allowance, which in Europe, for want of better informaation may appear extravagant: whereas for Ameriit is very ſcanty, eſpecially with regard to the remote miſſions, both on account of the ſmall value of ſilver, and the exceſſive price of all European goods; but much more on account of the difficulty, expence, and waſte of the tranſportation of them, which coſts half the the value, and ſometimes the whole is loſt: For what muſt the expences in a journey of four or five hundred leagues through a country for the greateſt part deſart, and for ſeveral leagues together, covered with craggy mountains and thick foreſts, amount to? and where beſides there is an abſolute neceſſity of carrying all the proviſions both for man and beaſt: The expences in California, being much enhanced, on account of the diſtance, veſſels, loſs of goods, and barrenneſs of the ſoil, even for proviſions, the allowance for each miſſionary, has been ſtated at five hundred dollars per annum: ſo that they, whoſe good diſpoſition lead them to found a miſſion, have endowed it with a principal of ten thouſand dollars, the intereſt of which, at five per cent, furniſhes the ſtated ſupport for the miſſionary. All the miſſions of California, hitherto, owe their foundation to private perſons, not one of them being on the treaſury eſtabliſhment: for though his majeſty ordered others to be founded on his account, nothing has been done in conformity to his commands.

The benefactors and founders did not put this money into the ſociety's hands, but it remained with them, the intereſt being paid every year, whilſt the miſſion was founding, till father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra being provincial, and on a viſitation in California, he judged that it would be better to lay out the capitals in land, that thus they might not be expoſed to the hazards of commerce, as in the affair of don Juan Baptiſta Lopez, the founder of San Juan de Ligui; who failing, all the capital of that miſſion was loſt. Beſides, as the miſſionaries of California were obliged to buy cattle and corn in New Spain, they might ſupply themſelves much cheaper from the products of their own lands. Accordingly he opened his mind to father Ugarte, who approved and commended the project. On his return to Mexico, that the affair might be conſidered with that preciſion, which the ſociety on all occaſions obſerves, he laid it before the provincial conſiſtory. The deſign met with great approbation, eſpecially from father Alexandro Romano, agent for California, and ſoon after provincial.

Accordingly father Romano was commiſſioned to collect the funds, and purchaſe farms, and manage them for the account of the miſſion. Thus he ſucceſſively bought the farm of Guadaloupe, in the valley of Acolman or Oculna; that of Huaſteca for breeding ſheep; that of Huapango, and that of Sarco. In theſe purchaſes, were laid out all the capitals of the ſeven miſſions already founded; the five thouſand dollars, left to California by the duke of Abrantes and Linares; four thouſand dollars, the legacy of a gentleman of Guadalaxara, and a great part of the ſmaller donations.

Nothing in this world is ſo excellent, but it may be viewed in different lights, and thus be liable to exceptions. But this procedure ſeemed to be dictated by prudence, regularity, and religion. The miſſionaries might have been ſent among the Indians, as ſheep among wolves, without ſcrip or ſtaff. But whoever admires the apoſtles, in founding churches after this manner, will not therefore condemn them, for making collections among the brethren, nor the diſtribution of ſuſtenance to orphans and widows, which was the office of the deacons. How can the miſſionaries live on the charities of the Indians, when almoſt the only means of bringing about their converſions, is to ſupport them at the miſſions?

Thus the agent at Mexico ſuperintended the management of theſe farms, and received their products, and likewiſe the eighteen thouſand dollars, aſſigned by the king for the payment of the royal garriſon, and the men belonging to the barks. Out of the produce of the farms, every miſſionary is provided with apparel, utenſils, proviſions, medicines, mules, and other neceſſaries for himſelf and his Indians, to the neat amount of his ſtipend, which never riſes to any thing conſiderable, the charges and loſſes being regulated by a genuine average for preſerving harmony and equality, if there be any ſurplus, it is employed in travelling expences, purchaſing of veſſels, gratuities to the ſoldiers and ſailors, preparations and charges of new expeditions, and extraordinary ſuccours for the more ſpeedy advancement of the miſſions. And if there be a deficiency in the neceſſary expences, it falls on the miſſionaries. Philip V. was pleaſed to order, that the miſſions of California, ſhould, like the other miſſions in America, be ſupplied at his expence, with every thing neceſſary for divine worſhip; as bells, images, ornaments, lamps, oil, and wine for the maſſes: yet this gracious order has never been put in execution. Every thing has been purchaſed out of the allowances of the miſſionaries, the contributions, or the effects of the miſſion. The building, repair, whether ordinary and extraordinary, of the church, is done at the charge of the miſſionary, who is the parochial prieſt of the Indians: but this is not the only conveniency of the prieſts of California: in all parts the labourer is worthy of his hire, and he who ſerves at the altar, may be allowed to eat of things belonging to the altar. Wherefore it ſeems juſt, that he who ſows the ſpiritual ſeed, ſhould reap ſome temporal advantages. On this account it was not ſtrange, that the new chriſtians of California ſupported their prieſts, and returned their affectionate ſervices, with ſome temporal benefits. Whereas, on the contrary, the prieſts and miſſionaries, who are jeſuits, are obliged not only to maintain their churches, but even their pariſhioners.

At firſt the fathers ſubſiſted all the Indians, who came to ſettle in villages, on condition that they ſhould no longer wander among the woods and mountains, but be inſtructed in the faith: and in theſe charities, great part of the contributions of the benefactors, has been expended. And after they were thus brought together, it being impoſſible to ſubſiſt all, and equally ſo to make fields for ſowing in many parts, either from the nature of the ſoil, want of water, or the innate indolence and ſloth of the people, the following method was taken. Firſt, the miſſionaries ſupported all the Indians, who attended divine ſervice. Every morning and night, they have an allowance of Atole, the name they give to their pottage, made of maize, boiled and afterwards bruiſed, macerated in water, and put a ſecond time over the fire: at noon they are ſerved with Pozoli, or boiled maize, with freſh or ſalt meat, and fruits or vegetables, according as the miſſion is provided. In the ſame manner the Indian governor of the village, the ſick, the aged, and the children of all the rancherias, male and female, from ſix to twelve years, are provided with food. Beſides this, every week the ſame allowance is given to all the Indians of two rancherias, male and female, in conſideration that they all come in their order, two by two, to the head village of the miſſion, in order to renew their inſtructions. Laſtly, every Sunday, all who attend divine ſervice have a portion of victuals, and in paſſion week, the like is ſent to all the rancherias.

The miſſionary prieſt likewiſe cloathes all his pariſhioners with ſerges, bays, and palmillas, a ſort of courſe cloth woven in Old Spain: he alſo provides them with cloaks and blankets, which he procures from Mexico on his ſtipend. Thoſe who can work are inſtructed by the fathers in the management of the fields, and watering the ground; the product of which, is entirely for their own advantage; and the conſequence is, that they gather it, and immediately waſte the whole, unleſs the fathers take care to ſave it up, in order to make a proper diſtribution, or to ſend relief to another miſſion in neceſſity. Wine is the only product withheld from them, and this in order to prevent drunkenneſs; and it is for this reaſon, that though the vintages are but inconſiderable, ſome quantities of it, there being but few conſumers in California, have been exported to New Spain, in exchange for other commodities. What wine the father has is chiefly given to the ſick, whom he likewiſe ſupplies with medicines; ſo that a miſſionary and prieſt of California, is not only charged with the care of their ſouls, but likewiſe with all the ſeveral duties of a father of a family: together with the ſeveral mechanical occupations from a labourer to a cook. He is likewiſe a tutor, apothecary, ſurgeon and phyſician to all: and this without the leaſt profit, advantage, or reward, ſpending his own ſubſtance, abridging himſelf of conveniencies, even neceſſaries, to ſupply their wants.

Such was the government eſtabliſhed by father Salva-Tierra, relating to the temporal proviſion of California, and it is obſerved to this day. The civil government introduced by the ſame father at Loretto, and partly by his example and direction in the other miſſionaries, conſiſts chiefly in the following articles: that in every miſſion newly founded, the father is attended by a ſoldier, who within certain bounds has the power of the captain of the garriſon. When the father has aſſembled any rancherias, he appoints the perſon, whom he thinks moſt proper, as governor of the village: another Indian to take care of the church, and out of each rancheria, a perſon of the moſt promiſing morals, and particularly inſtructed, is appointed catechiſt. The governor's office is to keep peace and good order; and if any thing happens that he cannot remedy, he is to acquaint the father and ſoldier with it. The church-warden is to take care of the church and keep it clean; he is alſo to take notice of thoſe that fail coming to maſs, and other exerciſes of devotion; thoſe that do not behave with proper reſpect; and thoſe who either return to their former ſuperſtitions, or betray any ill will againſt the fathers, or diſguſt at the inſtructions. The catechiſt of the rancheria ſummons them every morning before they go to the woods to repeat their prayers and catechiſm: and if any thing deſerving animadverſion happens in the rancheria, he acquaints the father of it.

During the abſence of the father, either to viſit villages and rancherias, attend the ſick, or terminate quarrels, the ſoldier acts as his vicegerent, and has an eye to every thing. He is at the father's order to go wherever it is neceſſary; he can ſeize delinquents, and mildly puniſh them, unleſs in capital caſes, when he is to lay the caſe before the captain of the garriſon, who is inveſted with the juridical power. Leſſer faults are puniſhed with whipping, and the greater with impriſonment or the ſtocks. Towards introducing the puniſhment of whipping practiſed in other provinces on the Indians, father Salva-Tierra made uſe of the method propoſed by the captain of the garriſon, there being

ing in the beginning great numbers of pilferers, that an example became neceſſary, the captain ſurpriſed one of theſe with the booty in his hands. On this all the Indians being called together, the boy was charged with the theft before them, and the turpitude of his crime expoſed in the backeſt colours. The captain had ſentenced him to a very ſevere puniſhment, and all agreed that he deſerved it as a warning to the reſt. Then father Salva-Tierra interceded that it might be changed into a whipping; this was complied with, and he ſuffered only a few laſhes. Thus the puniſhment was introduced, which however it may in Europe cauſe diſorders, is otherwiſe in America, by reaſon of the temper of the Indians, to whom greater rigour and ſtrictneſs would be unſupportable; and this is executed by their countrymen and companions. As to the ſpiritual government, beſides what we have ſaid in ſpeaking of the foundations of ſome miſſions, in general it is uniform in all: the firſt care is of the children, as the whole depends on their education. Some from all the miſſions are brought up at Loretto, which has a reading, writing, and ſinging ſchool, with proper maſters who come from the oppoſite coaſt. They become gradually poliſhed by converſation; they are taught the Spaniſh, and afterwards are promoted to be church-wardens or catechiſts in their rancherias, where they are greatly reſpected. At the head villages every morning, the church-warden aſſembles all the inhabitants in the church, whither the rancherias come by turns, and there the Te Deum is ſung. This is followed by the maſs, and afterwards by the catechiſm, which is tranſlated into their languages: and ſeveral times a week, the whole concludes with an explication, or ſermon; inſtructing and animating them in every part of the chriſtian life. The adult chriſtians then undertake ſome employment, or go among the woods in queſt of ſuſtenance. At night they all meet again in the church, and perform their devotions. Every Sunday they walk in proceſſion round the village ſinging; they then return to the church, where a ſermon is preached to them. The like is done at Loretto every Saturday, in Spaniſh, for the garriſon,

SECT. XII.

Account of the Goverment eſtabliſhed by father Salva-Tierra, in the royal garriſon, and among the ſoldiers, veſſels, and ſeamen, belonging to California; as likewiſe of that eſtabliſhed by his advice in pearl fiſhery.

In order to give at once a complete idea of the government of California, in all its branches, it will be proper to ſubjoin that which father Salva-Tierra procured to be eſtabliſhed in the royal garriſon and ſhipping, as the government to this day, continues on the ſame footing. The judicious reader, will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed with the reaſons for erecting theſe garriſons among the ſavage Indians, for the protection of the miſſionaries and preachers of the goſpel, againſt inſults: and likewiſe, with an apology for that prudent and ſalutary meaſure, in oppoſition to thoſe who are loud in their complaints, that the garriſon and military eſcorts, with which the miſſionaries take care to be guarded, deſtroy that freedom, with which the chriſtian religion ſhould be received. This is a point which concerns not only California, but likewiſe many other provinces of America, where the goſpel is preached under the protection of the garriſons. It is a point, which for many years has been deliberated upon, by order of the kings of Spain, and after the moſt impartial and mature examination, this method has been eſtabliſhed as the beſt, or even the only one, by which the reduction and converſion of the Americans might be accompliſhed. They who will not admit as a reaſon the example of innumerable religions, of ſeveral orders, who having undertaken to go alone, without any guard, to preach among the ſavage Indians, have only obtained the crown of martyrdom by their hands, leaving them at the ſame time under greater blindneſs and inſolence: Such, I ſay, may in F. Acoſta's excellent work, De procuranda Indorum Salute, ſee the reaſons for this meaſure, which is no contrivance, or inſtitution of the jeſuits, but of the kings of Spain, with the repeated advice of their ſupreme council: it will ſoon be ſeen how in California itſelf, the want of a garriſon, which the jeſuits had frequently ſolicited, was very near proving the ruin in a few days of all the chriſtian communities, formed with immenſe labour and expence, in the courſe of forty years. It is ſufficient at preſent, to ſay that no one is compelled by force to receive the faith; that all who are baptiſed, deſire it not only freely, and without the leaſt compulſion, but all poſſible aſſurances are given of the ſincerity and perſeverance of the ſubject. The garriſon and ſoldiers check the inſults of the ſavages: but if the orders and intentions of his majeſty, and the Spaniſh government be complied with, they never offer them the leaſt injury, never ſo much as purſuing them unleſs provoked: the chief end of their ſervice is no more than as a juſt and prudent ſafeguard for the lives of the miſſionaries.

Garriſons being thus neceſſary for the reduction of California, father Salva-Tierra eſtabliſhed them from the beginning, but of what little force we have ſeen: afterwards the number of ſoldiers was increaſed or diminiſhed, according to the amount of the contributions, and the poſſibility of paying and ſubſiſting them. When father Piccolo had procured the effectual payment of the ſix thouſand dollars allowed by his majeſty Philip V. the number of ſoldiers became more ſettled: yet this could not cauſe any great augmentation, as every ſoldier in the garriſons of New Biſcay, Sonora, and Cinaloa, received from the king three hundred, and the captain five hundred dollars. But the ſoldiers of California, as their expence was greater, were not contented with this pay. Beſides, the pay of the ſailors, belonging to the barks, was alſo extravagant: but at laſt, both, not only conformed to the pay allowed by the king, as we ſhall ſhew, but the number of them has been increaſed, as abſolutely neceſſary, and paid out of the funds of the miſſion. Father Salva-Tierra's firſt care, was to ſolicit for the garriſon, a legal juriſdiction to be lodged in its captain, as an inſtrument of the regal power. This he obtained, by means of the count of Galvez, viceroy: and in the warrant for this purpoſe, were granted to him, all other licences and privileges neceſſary for an eſtabliſhment in California, and ſpecifying the reſpective appointments for the father, the captain, and ſoldiers, with the privileges to which they were intitled. And though the execution of this was oppoſed at Mexico, yet his majeſty was pleaſed to confirm the ſeveral articles in the ſchedule, already mentioned of the 28th of September, directing that no alteration ſhould be made in the government of California, as ſettled at the beginning. Of theſe appointments, privileges, and favours, ſome were nominated for the father, others for the ſoldiers in common, others for the captain, or the enſign his ſubſtitute. The viceroy granted to the father, a licence for carrying ſoldiers to California, and maintaining them at his own expence; and though at preſent the king pays the ſoldiers,

diers, this privilege has not been repealed, of appointing a captain or commander, that is, a perſon of courage, prudence, experience, and religion, but he muſt be confirmed by the viceroy, of inliſting and diſcharging ſoldiers; and laſtly, the captain or ſoldiers were to be under his orders, in progreſſes, eſcortes, and other occaſions, which are not immediately military, theſe being under the captain's direction: the ſoldiers were to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the officers, and ſoldiers of the king's army; their ſervice was to be accounted as in time of war, and on the frontiers, their pay to be on the ſame footing with thoſe of Sonora, Cinaloa, and New Biſcay; and that the certificates which they ſhould bring, ſigned by the captain and the father, ſhould be admitted as authentick, in order to entitle them to thoſe immunities, which they had acquired by their ſervice; the captain of the garriſon, was appointed judge and chief juſticiary of all the country of California; of the ſoldiers in every caſe, whether military or civil; of the ſeamen, ſervants, and ſettlers, and of the Indians: to hear and determine all cauſes, and execute his ſentences. He was likewiſe nominated captain general, not only within the country, but of the ſea and coaſt of California: on which account, the principal veſſel of the garriſon, ſhould be called the capitana, and carry a ſuitable enſign, and hoiſt it at coming into any harbour, unleſs at Acapulco, when the Philippine ſhip ſhould happen to be there. Laſtly, he was inveſted with the ſuperintendency over the pearl fiſhery, as ſhall be related in the ſequel.

The military government of the garriſon is the ſame as that of the other frontier garriſons: and the captain is to take care that it be ſtrictly obſerved, to puniſh delinquents, and if neceſſary, caſhier them: though even in this caſe, if the fault be not very great, the man diſcharged is indulged with a certificate: no out-laws are capable of being admitted ſoldiers: and though in the difficulties of the firſt year, the treaſurer Miranda, propoſed to father Salva-Tierra, the ſending to him ſuch perſons, as ſhould be baniſhed by the audience to ſerve without pay; the father declined the offer, as they would do more harm than good, with regard to the moral improvement of the new commencements; moſt of the ſoldiers are always on duty within the garriſon: the others are employed in eſcorting the fathers, ſometimes in progreſſes up the country, ſometimes in the new ſettlement. In every miſſion there is conſtantly a ſoldier for an eſcorte; for though this has been deſired to be diſpenſed with, when under no apprehenſions from the Indians, no way has hitherto been found for it. No Indian ſervants of the other coaſt are admitted into the miſſion, this being attended with very great inconveniencies. The father is often obliged to go from the head village, to viſit others and the rancherias, beſides, he is every hour liable to be called to the ſick in different parts. One particular in this government, which may ſeem ſtrange to ſome people, is, that the captain and ſoldiers are under the father; and this has given ſuch diſpleaſure to ſome of his majeſty's miniſters, that in their zeal for the honour of the ſword, they have even formally remonſtrated againſt it to his majeſty. Many other perſons have, and ſtill do expreſs great indignation at it: ſome, I am willing to believe, from a good intention; but the generality are carried away by that ſpirit of contradiction which has ever attended the ſociety in all its proceedings from its commencement; and which it muſt expect, whilſt it acts up to its obligations, in purſuit of the great end of its inſtitution: the caſhiered ſoldiers alſo have frequently furniſhed New Spain with ſtories and complaints againſt the fathers; they have eaſily met with ears open to their calumnies; and have even been abetted in them; and ſometimes with aſſurances that their pretended wrongs ſhould be redreſſed. Father Salva-Tierra was not ignorant of the reports ſpread againſt the ſociety, and eſpecially againſt himſelf.

Theſe reports were ſtrengthened by the clamours of a captain and ſeveral ſoldiers, who in thoſe years returned full of rancour againſt the father. It was further well known, that the coaſt of California abounded in pearl beds: and to think that the fathers did not make uſe of their Indians, and even of the Spaniards of the garriſon, whom they paid for fiſhing for them, was, in the opinion of the miniſters, paying a very high compliment to the fathers. On the other hand, none of theſe pearls came into the hands of private perſons at Mexico, as they expected, nor was the king paid his fifths. What could be thought, but that they were concealed, to the detriment of the royal revenue, and violation of publick faith? Where was the advantage and decency that the king ſhould put his troops under a ſcandalous ſubjection to religious, pay ſalaries, furniſh veſſels, and expend large ſums, for the ſupply and protection of the defrauders of his revenue, only for the thread-bare pretence of devotion and religion? Would it be juſt to drain the treaſury, only to gratify the ambition of the jeſuits? All this, and many more invectives, equally well grounded, were known to father Salva-Tierra. He ſaw alſo how much himſelf and the fathers were conſidered for their care of the temporal concerns of California; and likewiſe the miſunderſtandings, in which they were frequently involved with the ſoldiers and mariners. But having, beſides his natural ſagacity, a long experience of thoſe countries, he was perfectly acquainted with the climate, ſoil, and temper of the inhabitants: and knew from the beginning, that the enterpriſe of the reduction of California, was not to be meaſured by the rules, which obtained in the European countries, and even in America itſelf. It was clear to him that all endeavours, labour, and expence would be loſt, unleſs the captain and the garriſon were at his command; and that without taking this temporal command, though ſo diſagreeable and expenſive, there would be no poſſibility of accompliſhing the ſpiritual conqueſt. Of this he was ſo convinced, that till he had ſettled this point, he did not enter on his work. The weighty reaſons, on which he proceeded, are partly mentioned in the memoir, inſerted above (2) and partly deducible from what we have ſaid relating to the province of Sonora. (3)

(2) Part III. ſect. VIII. (3) Part III. ſect. V.

The captain of the garriſon, being likewiſe captain of the ſea and coaſt of California has complete juriſdiction over all the veſſels and and ſeamen belonging to them: with the ſame ſubordination to the fathers. The veſſels properly belonging to California, are generally a large bark, for bringing the accounts and payments from Acapulco, Matanchel, or other diſtant ports, and a ſmaller for the conveyance of proviſions and neceſſaries, from the coaſts Sonora and the adjacent parts. Both veſſels to be built and maintained, together with their crews, at the king's expence: but of ſixteen veſſels, large and ſmall, which, till the year 1740, belonged to California, no more than twelve were built or purchaſed at the expence of the miſſion. It muſt be owned, that ever ſince the viceroyſhip of the marquis de Caſa Fuerte, the veſſels have every two years ſailed to Acapulco, and there careened at the expence of the revenue. It has very often happened that there has been only one veſſel at California, to its extreme danger and diſtreſs. It was owing to this want of barks, that the diſcoveries in the gulf have not been made: for even the very laſt was performed in boats along the ſhore, and with what danger, will be ſeen in his journal. And for the ſame reaſon the other ſurveys on the weſtern coaſt on the

South-ſea, were intimated, as much more difficult and expenſive; though theſe have been enjoined by warrants from his majeſty. The ſuperiority of the captain over the barks, is no leſs eſſential to the maintenance and good government of California, than that naturally annexed to his poſt over the ſoldiers of the garriſon: and his ſubordination to the fathers in this article, is even more neceſſary than in the concerns of the country. The principal reaſon, excluſive of others, is ſhewn by father Salva-Tierra in his memoir. The ſoldiers are very deſirous of fiſhing for pearls along the coaſt. But the mariners are ſtill more deſirous, as they ſee ſome of their acquaintance on the coaſt of New Galicia and Cinaloa, ſuddenly enriched by this fiſhery; ſo that had not the captain of the garriſon the command of the barks, it is natural to conclude that they would be more frequently employed in the ſervice of the miſſions: ſo that there could be no relying upon them, for the neceſſary ſupplies: and were the captain and ſoldiers independent of the jeſuits, they would be the firſt to ſet the example of diving for pearls: and inſtead of guarding the part of the country already reduced, eſcorting the fathers in their progreſſes, and aſſiſting the miſſion in other parts of their duty, they would force the barks and the Indians for the more ſpeedy gratification of their avarice. Hence oppreſſions of the Indians; and immediate conſequence of theſe would be complaints, reſentments, deſpair, plots, a general inſurrection; and after all the expences and labours, the total loſs of the conqueſt. If any thing happens otherwiſe, it is owing to their want of information.

Thus it was neceſſary, that both in civil and military caſes, the veſſels belonging to California ſhould be ſubject to the captain of the garriſon; and that both ſhould be under the direction of the fathers. But the entire juriſdiction over all veſſels, ſailing on the gulf, was, by the government of Mexico, conferred on the captain. The entrance of the jeſuits into California, and the reſtoration of a good harmony along its coaſt, from the bay de la Paz to Conception, gave occaſion a ſecond time to the fiſhing and trading for pearls, without the uſual oppoſition from the Indian inhabitants. The inſulars of St. Joſeph, and the Guaycuri and Coras, from La Pas to cape San Lucas, alone offered to moleſt the divers, who had formerly ſuffered too much from them, to venture coming near their ſhore. The inhabitants of the coaſt of New Galicia and Cinaloa, who before, uſed but ſeldom, and then in ſmall barks with great danger, to go and fiſh for pearls, began to build larger barks: and in them, without any apprehenſion, to ſail to the oppoſite coaſt, to trade for pearls, but much more to fiſh for them; employing the Californians who lived along the ſhore, and generally by compulſion, though they never made them any allowance. The ſoldiers and ſeamen of the garriſon were ſeveral times urgent with father Salva-Tierra, that they might be allowed to dive; but the father, in order to put a ſtop to the evil, abſolutely refuſed to grant the leaſt privilege of that kind.

This cauſed great diſcontent among them, many demanded their diſcharge, and all complained. The father, however, continued unſhaken in his intention, on no account to admit them to dive for pearls.

He was confirmed in this opinion, by a particular incident. He had ſent a bark to the neighbouring iſland of Carmen, which made a longer ſtay than the ſervice required. The father ſuſpected that they ſpent their time in diving, and he afterwards had private intelligence that his ſuſpicions were well founded. The father was highly diſpleaſed at it, but the garriſon being very thin, on account of the many diſcharges for the ſame offence, he deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould likewiſe diſcharge all offenders, and remain in California alone. At laſt, he determined to diſcharge them, relying on providence, for a freſh reinforcement of men; in which he was not diſappointed.

Towards the end of the year 1702, two barks committed ſuch diſorders, that the captain was obliged to march with ſome of his ſoldiers, in defence of the Indians. Having parted the fray, he demanded from the men in the bark, to produce the viceroy's licence for diving: and their anſwer was for him to produce the warrant by which he acted as judge and ſuperior. But not having any particular warrant, the affair went no farther. The captain, on his arrival at Loretto, ſent the viceroy an account of this quarrel, and many other violences committed on the Indians, the danger of a general diſcontent and revolt; and deſiring inſtructions how to behave on ſimilar occaſions. This letter was read in the royal council of Mexico, on the 18th of January 1703; and being referred to the treaſurer, his opinion was, that circular orders ſhould be ſent for prohibiting the fiſhing for pearls, till an account ſhould be laid before his majeſty; that enquiry ſhould be made after all who had preſumed to dive without licence, in order to bring them to puniſhment, according to the new inſtitutes by which it was prohibited: and to prevent all diſorders for the future, a warrant ſhould be ſent to the captain of California, impowering him to ſtop all veſſels which came to fiſh for pearls.

But the aſſembly, on the 27th of the ſame month, and in the ſame year, reſolved, that the fiſhery ſhould not be prohibited to any, having the viceroy's licence. That the warrant propoſed by the fiſcal, ſhould be ſent to the captain of the royal garriſon of California: and laſtly that the fathers Salva-Tierra and Piccolo, ſhould be deſired to acquaint the aſſembly, whether this grant would be attended with inconveniences: for as to the violences committed on the Indians, they might be prevented by vigilance, or ſuppreſſed by proper ſeverities; and therefore it was by no means proper to interdict a publick advantage for fear of an evil, where the remedy was ſo eaſy.

Accordingly the orders correſpondent to this decree, were ſent to California, where the captain was now inveſted with a full power for ſuppreſſing all clandeſtine and illicit diving; and likewiſe for hindering any injuries to be done to the Indians. Father Piccolo being abſent, father Salva-Tierra ſent his particular anſwer to the viceroy in a letter dated at Loretto 1704, the original of which, written in his own hand, is among the records in the ſecretary's office of Mexico; the ſubſtance of it is, that to permit the inhabitants of the other coaſt, from diving for pearls, is, on many accounts, proper and juſt: and among other advantages, the increaſe of the royal revenue in the fifths; the encouragement of navigation, and the building of veſſels in the gulf and neighbouring ſeas, where every veſſel was a kind of garriſon; the ſuppreſſion of pirates, the greater readineſs and ſafety of tranſporting proviſions in a time of ſcarcity, the training up great numbers to the ſea: and laſtly, that it was reaſonable California ſhould make ſome returns to the crown for the benefits it received. But at the ſame time, it was by no means proper, that either the ſeamen belonging to the barks, or the captain and ſoldiers of California, ſhould be allowed to fiſh for pearls, much leſs to be preferred; as this would be followed by the greateſt inconveniencies. He concluded with ſaying, that little could be expected from the ſoldiery, either as to the defence of the country, eſcortes in progreſſes or wars, if they were allowed to dive for pearls. Such was father Salva-Tierra's anſwer; and it confirmed the junto in their former reſolutions; and the viceroy took the beſt meaſures againſt any illegal diving, as alſo againſt defrauding the revenue of the fifth due to the king. It is certain, that the fifth of every diving bark was yearly farmed for twelve thouſand dollars (7): an article which alone proves, that the value of California is more advantageous, and might be greatly augmented.

Such was the government then eſtabliſhed in the pearl fiſhery of California, on the opinion of father Salva-Tierra, and this he maintained during his whole life; as on the part of the jeſuits, the garriſon of Loretto, and the barks belonging to it, ſtill continue to this day. It is true, that this meaſure extremely irritated the ſoldiers, much more than the ſeamen, and even than any of the divers of New Spain: and they have all joined in filling the new world with calumnies againſt the fathers. No ſooner were the viceroy's orders, concerning the pearl fiſhery, and the power inveſted in the captain of California known, than the divers of that coaſt, whoſe illicit practices were now checked, filled all places with their complaints: but among all theſe, the moſt remarkable was that made by the ſoldiers, that the conqueſt being the fruits of their valour and fatigue, they were not allowed the enjoyment of the only valuable thing in the country, the pearl fiſhery; when it was open to every one from the other coaſt.

---

(7) See part III. ſect. XXI.

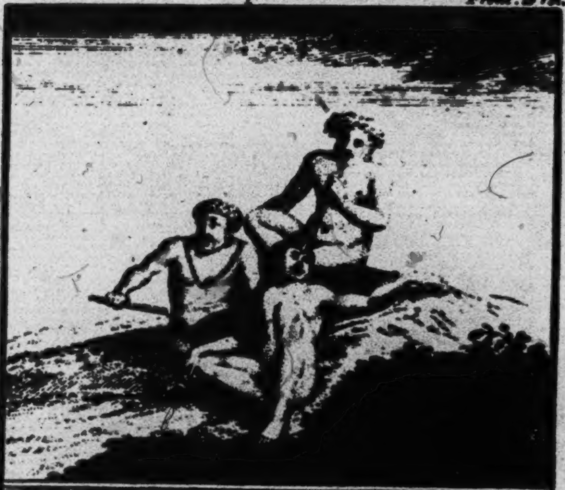
That it was a great hardſhip on thoſe, who, by prodigious labour, had reduced the country to a ſtate of peace, to be denied the privilege of gathering the fruits of it; that the fathers taking up with the fantaſtical conqueſt, neither employed the Indians to fiſh, nor allowed them to dive: and the only privilege they had, was to trade for pearls, and this under reſtrictions and conditions unreaſonably favourable to the Indians, and conſequently diſadvantageous to them.

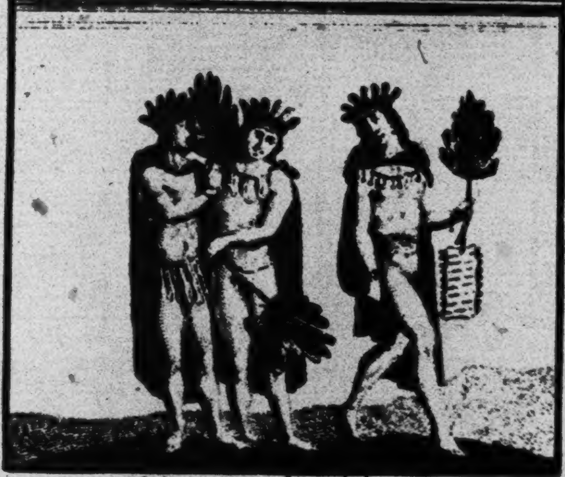
This was the complaint of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, who were actually, or pretended to be, caſhiered. But as juſtice ſhould be done to all, it muſt be owned, that there have been and ſtill are ſome ſoldiers in California, who proved of great advantage to the fathers, particularly the old captain don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, whoſe good conduct can never be too highly commended. But on the other hand, the fathers have found themſelves under a neceſſity of enliſting as ſoldiers, men who were the refuſe of the world, few others caring to go to ſo diſtant a place. This always rendered the garriſon and the veſſels, very troubleſome to the miſſion. If theſe difficulties ſubſiſt, when the ſoldiers are under the direction of the fathers, what would become of the miſſions, if they were all independent?

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

The Manner of curing the Sick in California

Front. to Vol. II.





Sorcerers of California.

A NATURAL and CIVIL

HISTORY
OF
CALIFORNIA:

CONTAINING

An accurate Deſcription of that COUNTRY,
Its Soil, Mountains, Harbours, Lakes, Rivers,
and Seas; its Animals, Vegetables, Minerals,
and famous Fiſhery for Pearls.

THE

CUSTOMS of the INHABITANTS,
Their Religion, Government, and Manner of Living,
before their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion by
the miſſionary Jeſuits.

TOGETHER WITH

Accounts of the ſeveral Voyages and Attempts made for
ſettling California, and taking actual Surveys of that
Country, its Gulf, and Coaſt of the South-Sea.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Copper Plates, and an accurate Map of the Country and
the adjacent Seas.

Tranſlated from the original Spaniſh of MIGUEL VENEGAS,
a Mexican Jeſuit, publiſhed at Madrid 1758.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER,
at the Oxford Theatre, in Pater-Noſter-Row. 1759.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

PART III.

SECT. XIII.

NEW forces ſent from his majeſty to California; father Salva-Tierra dies in his way to Mexico; ſtate of Affairs in that country. From page 1 — 20.

SECT. XIV.

Progreſs of the miſſions under fathers Siſtiaga and Tamaral; the miſſion La Puriſſima, founded; a veſſel built in California, by the diligence of father Ugarte; father Bravo obtains another at Mexico, and founds the miſſion de la Paz. At the ſame time father Helen founds that of Guadalupe. p. 21---40.

SECT. XV.

Father Guillen undertakes to ſurvey the weſtern coaſt, and father Ugarte that of the gulf of California, to the river Colorado; three

three harbours diſcovered on the coaſt of the South-ſea. p. 40—72.

SECT. XVI.

The miſſion de Nueſtro Senora de los Dolores del Sur, founded by father Guillen, and that of St. Jago de los Coras by father Napoli. p. 72—89.

SECT. XVII.

Foundation of the northern miſſion of San Ignacio, by father Luando, and its progreſſes, death of the fathers Piccolo and Ugarte, inſurrections of the Pericues, and foundation of the miſſion of St. Joſeph at cape San Lucas, by father Tamaral. p. 89—110.

SECT. XVIII.

Survey of the iſlands of Dolores, by father Taraval; account of others formed by the channel of Santa Barbara, in the South-ſea; foundation of the miſſion of Santa Roſa by that father; inſurrection of the Coras, for the want of a garriſon. p. 110—123.

SECT. XIX.

The Philippine galleon comes for the firſt time to cape San Lucas; the ſhip's company are refreſhed,

refreſhed, and the ſick cured. The fathers Caranco and Tamaral ſuffer martyrdom by the hands of the Pericues; father Taraval eſcapes. Four miſſions deſtroyed. p. 123--145

SECT. XX.

All the miſſions, from a miſtruſt of the northern Indians, retire to Loretto; a remarkable inſtance of the fidelity of the Yaquis; meaſures taken by the fathers for pacifying the ſouthern Indians; misfortune which attended the Philippine galleon; the governor of Cinaloa goes to California; death of father Julian de Mayorga; the Pericues are quieted, and a new garriſon ſettled at San Lucas. p. 145---161.

SECT. XXI.

The ſouthern miſſion happily reſtored; excellent meaſures taken by his majeſty Philip V. for promoting the conqueſt; his preſent majeſty Ferdinand VI. ratifies them in their full extent. p. 161---174.

SECT. XXII.

Preparations at Mexico, in purſuance of the foregoing royal orders; endeavours for penetrating into the province of Maqui. Father Sedelmayer

Sedelmayer repairs to the rivers Gila and Colorado. The coaſt of California, as far as theſe rivers, ſurveyed; father Courſay's expedition againſt the Apates; laſt accounts of the miſſion of California, Sonora, and Pimeria, till the year 1752. p. 174---213.

PART IV.

INTRODUCTION.

APPENDIX I.

A ſhort deſcription of the outward coaſt of California, by Gomara. p. 225---227.

APPENDIX II.

Narrative of the voyage of captain Sebaſtian Vizcaino in the year 1602, for ſurveying the outward, or weſtern coaſt of California on the South-ſea. p. 227---308.

APPENDIX III.

Account of the voyage of father Fernando Courſay, miſſionary of California, performed for ſurveying the eaſtern coaſt of California to its extremity, the river Colorado, by order of father Chriſtoval de Eſcobar and Llemas, provincial of New Spain in the year 1746. p. 308---353.

APPENDIX

CONTENTS.

APPENDIX IV.

A deſcription of California, by captain Woods Rogers, an Engliſhman, and of his voyage to the South-ſea in the year 1710. p. 353--361.

APPENDIX V.

Extract of ſome paſſages in the voyage of commodore Anſon; with a vindication of the jeſuits. p. 361—387.

A
NATURAL and CIVIL
HISTORY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

PART III. SECT. XIII.

New forces ſent from his majeſty to CALIFORNIA; father Salva-Tierra dies in his way to Mexico; ſtate of affairs in that country.

THE year 1717 began in the midſt of the ſolicitudes and cares mentioned in the preceding volume. The indefatigable Salva-Tierra was now ſtooping beneath a weight of years and diſorders; the ſtone, with which he had been long afflicted, became more violent; but his zeal would not allow him to remit his uſeful labours, except when he was not able to ſtand, and even then he took care to direct every particular with the greateſt care and attention. It was however too ſoon conſpicuous, that his labours drew near their period.

In the month of March father Nicholas Tamarral appointed for the propoſed miſſion of La

Puriſſima came to San Dionyſio or Loretto bay; he brought letters with him from the provincial father Gaſpan Kodero, informing him that on the 10th of Auguſt the preceding year, the new vice-roy Don Gaſpar de Zuniga, Marquis de Valero, arrived at Mexico, and had brought with him the moſt poſitive and particular orders from the court relating to the reduction of California; and that he himſelf was ſtrongly inclined to put them in execution. In order to this, his excellency was deſirous of conferring with the father; and therefore he ſhould without delay repair to Mexico; and truſting in his immediate compliance he had ſent father Tamaral, at whoſe return others ſhould accompany him, even though the province ſhould want ſubjects. Accordingly neither diſeaſe, pain, age, ſolicitude, want, or danger, could hinder the brave Salva-Tierra from embarking on the 31ſt of the ſame month for Matanchel, accompanied by brother Jayme Bravo, who refuſed to leave him in his melancholy condition, while the care of every thing was committed to father Ugarte. They had an eaſy paſſage of nine days over the gulf; but the motion of travelling by land to Tepique, ſo increaſed the tortures of the aged father, that he was not able to mount a horſe; and to ſtay at Tepique, neither his zeal for the government, nor the occaſion of his journey would permit; ſo that there was a neceſſity of carrying him to Guadalaxara on the ſhoulders of Indians: which alſo was attended with extreme pain. Here his tortures encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that he lay two months in the greateſt agony. When perceiving that his laſt hour was now arrived, he called brother Jayme, gave him inſtructions and powers for managing at Mexico the concerns of the miſſion, and contentedly reſigned his breath. All the city and even the province were extremely troubled with the account of his danger. They had for ſeveral years loved him as their father, and reſpected him as a man of exemplary life, and remarkably zealous for the converſion of the Indians; but one circumſtance greatly affected perſons of all ranks, namely the extraordinary grief of the Californians whom he brought with him.

The whole city aſſiſted at his interment, every place reſounded with his praiſe, and his remains were depoſited in the chapel he had erected to our lady of Loretto.

Father Bravo, having digeſted the ſeveral papers repaired to Mexico, where he found the viceroy perfectly diſpoſed to promote the good of the miſſions, and the reduction of California. The order for the purpoſe ſigned by his majeſty Philip V. on the 29th of January 1716, after recapitulating all the former till the laſt of the 26th of July 1708, concludes: "And as no account has been remitted to any council of the Indies of what has been executed purſuant to my laſt expreſs order, nor of the preſent ſtate of the converſion of the natives of California; and conſidering the great importance of encouraging and promoting religion there by all poſſible means, I have thought proper to communicate to you theſe affairs, that, being informed of them, you may, as I hereby enjoin you, carefully and vigorouſly apply yourſelf to facilitate and forward the execution of the warrants dated the 26th of July 1708, attending particularly to the advancement of the conqueſt, tranſmitting me an account of every particular that may happen in carrying this command into execution; but without altering in the leaſt, that form of government which has hitherto ſubſiſted in California, that after examining the reports you remit, proper meaſures be taken: for ſuch is my pleaſure." This order entirely proceeded from the ſtrong deſire of reducing California, entertained by the Abbé Julio Alberoni, then at the head of publick affairs; and whoſe comprehenſive ideas not only imparted new life and vigour to the commerce and navigation of Spain in Europe, and the eaſtern coaſt of America; but alſo extended to the coaſts of the S. Sea, which at that time the enemies privateers openly inſulted with impunity. This ſagacious and vigilant miniſter, who was ſoon after promoted to the purple, having ordered all the affairs depending in the council of the Indies to be laid before him, found among them, buried in an oblivion of eight years, a plan of the conqueſt of California which had been already attempted. His vaſt genius immediately ſaw the advantageous conſequences which muſt attend the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe; and without delay procured further informations concerning it. At this juncture a man of great wealth in New Spain, made an offer to the king in council of advancing 80000 dollars, in conſideration of his being made governor of California, and chief alcaldi of Acaponetra and Santipac. This was a ſtrong temptation to a miniſter who was in want of money, and much more, when meditating the vaſt and expenſive enterpriſes which then engroſſed his thoughts. But Alberoni never acted without a ſyſtem; nor was his attention limited to preſent exigencies. The petition therefore, when fully conſidered, appeared to have dangerous conſequences, as the projector would probably indemnify himſelf afterwards by ruining every thing in his power; and therefore this ſmall ſupply would draw after it the loſs of many provinces, and eſpecially deſtroy California; wherein his majeſty muſt either be at infinitely greater expences, or that province ſtill remaining entirely independent of his crown. It was alſo ſuſpected, that the projector would oppreſs to the utmoſt not only the Jeſuits and Californian chriſtians, but even the ſoldiers and mariners of California, together with the inhabitants and Indians on the oppoſite coaſt. And thus, for the inſatiable avarice of one man, thouſands would wretchedly periſh, and a vaſt extent of country be loſt to the crown. The king therefore returned him for anſwer, that he ſhould firſt produce certificates from the biſhops, who had the inſpection over theſe countries, whether his propoſal was detrimental or not to the good of thoſe chriſtian ſettlements: and if it appeared that it was not, it ſhould be taken into conſideration.

This offer turned Alberoni's thoughts to the north part of the South ſea, where he formed very grand deſigns. Among ſeveral others was that of ſettling new colonies on the North American coaſts of the South ſea, and at the ſame time to extend the dominion of Spain on thoſe immenſe and unknown countries north of Sonora, from the rivers Gila and Colorado, that they might find a market by ſea for their products of theſe colonies, and receive in exchange

change other neceſſaries. He was alſo deſirous that the commerce and ſubſiſtence both of theſe colonies and of the other new ſettlements in the inland provinces, ſhould not depend entirely on the goods and commerce of New Spain and Europe: on the contrary his principal plan was to extend the trade and navigation of the Philippine iſlands; deſigning to make them the center and ſtaple of all the commerce of China, and other parts of the Eaſt; as being very advantageouſly ſituated for it. From theſe iſlands a trade was to be carried on with both ſides of North and South America; and New Spain was a ſure channel for conveying all the merchandiſes of the Eaſt, to Old Spain, and other parts of Europe; the commerce of the latter with both Americas, and of theſe with the Eaſt, being ſo regulated, as not to break in upon, or diminiſh the neceſſary and due dependence of the Weſt Indies with regard to Old Spain; but on the contrary greatly increaſe the advantage of both, by decreaſing, if not utterly deſtroying, that diſadvantageous commerce which has been long carried on between Europe and America, the greateſt part of the goods being the property of other nations: the labour and danger only being the portion of Spain.

It would be foreign to our purpoſe, to expatiate on the meaſures projected, and partly put in execution, for recruiting the navy, reſtoring it to its ancient ſplendor, and erecting manufactures and trades of all kinds; for promoting plenty and commerce between the provinces; for recruiting the exhauſted treaſury without new impoſitions, or rather by eaſing the people; for aboliſhing abuſes in the foreign cuſtoms, and ſettling them in an uniform manner, that ſhips might for the future go to the Indies from any parts of Spain, and return thither again without moleſtation; for rendering the voyage from one part to another more ſecure; for ſuppreſſing all illicit trade; for increaſing the traffick between ſubjects and ſubjects to the general benefit and augmentation of the revenue, not by raiſing the prices and duties on account of the ſcarcity, but by multiplying ſmall profits ariſing from the plenty and facility of acquiring them: for rouſing old Spain from its lethargy, that inſtead of its trade in Europe, which is merely paſſive, it may be its own agent for concentring the advantages of both Americas in itſelf, and by uniting ſtocks render it the chief proprietor of the commerce even in the Eaſt Indies, and all parts of the South ſea: and laſtly, for giving new ſpirit and vigour to the whole nation.

Let it ſuffice to ſay that for carrying this plan into execution for the mutual advantage of both New and Old Spain, meaſures were to be taken for ſupplying both Americas with goods at a much cheaper rate, that the ſubjects there might reap the fruit of their labours; for aſſerting his majeſty's dominion over the Atlantick and Pacifick oceans, and for diſperſing thoſe corſairs and privateers, who ſcandalouſly defy our power. This would render the Spaniſh nation the real proprietor of its own commerce in both ſeas, and thus, the nation would reap the profit of it: and the vaſt advantages of both Americas and the Philippine iſlands center in Old Spain; in the ſame manner the French, Dutch, and Engliſh reap the benefit of their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, and their colonies in America.

It is very eaſy for a perſon to entertain his imagination with ſuch magnificent ideas; but the execution depends on many heads and hands; the firſt motives muſt be formed and regulated by the general ſyſtem; but the execution is too often attended with inſuperable difficulties. The miniſter knew by experience, that there was nothing too arduous for the magnanimity of his prince to undertake, provided it tended to the glory of his crown: and therefore, in order to venture upon the execution of thoſe vaſt projects as far as they related to California and the countries and ſeas contiguous to it, the new viceroy was ordered to encourage the Sonora miſſions, and proceed according to the above inſtructions relating to California: the miniſter likewiſe verbally recommended to him the ſettlement of colonies and garriſons on the ſouth coaſts, and the further diſcovery of others yet unknown.

Accordingly the viceroy, purſuant to ſuch poſitive orders, conferred, ſoon after his arrival at Mexico, with the father provincial Gaſpar Rodero, on the moſt proper means of carrying them into execution; and directed him and father, Alexandro Romano, agent for California, to attend at a general council of the miniſters. Here the viceroy having ordered his inſtructions to be read, declared his intention of founding at leaſt one Spaniſh colony on the weſtern coaſt of California. This was approved of by all the miniſters; but father Alexander being better acquainted with California, made a ſhort ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the fathers had always this deſign at heart, as ſufficiently appeared from their many expenſive ſurveys and unſucceſsful attempts; but that the enterpriſe was attended with more difficulties than they were aware of, no convenient harbour, with water, wood, and arable land near it, having yet been found ſound all along the coaſt; and if it were poſſible to find a place with all theſe advantages, his majeſty muſt for ſome years be at the expence of ſubſiſting the colony; for the country was ſo very barren, as not to afford a ſubſiſtence for the miſſionaries few ſoldiers now there; much leſs that plenty and variety requiſite for a colony. He then mentioned the difficulties relating to the ſhipping, the preſent deplorable ſituation of the fathers with only an old bark, and the famines, hardſhips, and ſhipwrecks to which they were expoſed. This ſpeech induced the viceroy and council to ſend for father Salva-Tierra, that, by his advice, who was of all men the beſt acquainted with the project under conſideration, the moſt proper meaſures might be taken. But the death of that worthy man diſconcerted this ſcheme, and rendered it neceſſary for them to conſult Jayme Bravo. Accordingly the father provincial introduced him to the viceroy, who found him a perſon of greater abilities than he had at firſt expected. He explained to him all the difficulties that attended a ſettlement of this kind, and preſented two papers to his excellency; one giving an account of the country and the inhabitants of California, the coaſt which had been diſcovered, and the foundation and preſent condition of the miſſions; the other, meaſures which he thought moſt conducive for extending the conqueſt, and accompliſhing his majeſty's orders. The viceroy therefore ordered theſe papers to be referred to the great council which he immediately aſſembled.

On the 25th of September, all the ſchedules, with reports and orders relating to California, from that iſſued on the 26th of September 1703, down to the two memorials delivered in by brother Bravo, were read before the aſſembly. All the articles contained in the laſt, relating to the execution of his majeſty's orders were immediately diſcuſſed: after which the ſolicitor delivered his opinion, which was confirmed by the votes of the whole aſſembly, and the following reſolution was unanimouſly agreed to.

"It is reſolved, purſuant to his majeſty's orders, that the miſſions of California be ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for the payment of twenty-five ſoldiers, with a captain, ſeamen, boys, and ſhipwrights, for a veſſel of a conſtruction ſuitable to the uſe ſhe is intended for, and alſo a ſmaller for conveying proviſions: and that if the allowance of thirteen thouſand dollars be not ſufficient to defray thoſe expences, the deficiency be ſupplied from the treaſury; and that the additional charge may not retard the execution, that all delay, as far as poſſible, is to be avoided, to prevent the total loſs of all the labour taken by jeſuits, without any conſiderable expence to the royal revenue, for this work; the ſums expended having been raiſed by contributions, tho' they amounted to above five hundred thouſand dollars: it being his majeſty's pleaſure expreſſed in repeated orders, that not only thoſe miſſions be maintained, but as far as poſſible extended; likewiſe that all diligence be uſed for diſcovering ſome harbour where a fortification may be erected, and a garriſon placed for the conveniency of the annual ſhip from the Philippine iſlands; where ſhe may ſafely put in, victual, refreſh her company, leave her ſick men, and be enabled to continue her voyage to Acapulco, without any of the dangers now attending this voyage, both from the enemy, and the great numbers of men which die at the ſhip's firſt arrival on this coaſt. And for obtaining this important end, as ſoon as a proper veſſel can be built, and manned with a proper number of ſoldiers and ſeamen, ſhe ſhall ſail to California, that an accurate ſurvey of the coaſt may be made, according to the direction of the fathers, who, being perſons acquainted with the country, coaſts, and ſeas, the entire conduct and direction of this affair is to be committed to their diſcretion; it being found, that after an immenſe charge to this revenue, all the perſons employed, have been ſo far from ſucceeding, that this country, of ſo great importance, and ſo much deſired to be known, remained in the ſame darkneſs and obſcurity as at the beginning: and that by the charts, jointly with the memorials and opinions of the ſaid fathers, the pilot and the proper perſons, an harbour may be choſen, and preparatives made for building a fort and every other particular relating to the accompliſhment of his majeſty's order. And, as to the appointments of the miſſionaries in the miſſions hereafter to be founded, regard will be had to the great inconveniencies and hardſhips attending the diſcharge of their office in the country, and the difficulty of conveying proviſions, apparel, and other neceſſaries, eſpecially as it is to be done by ſhipping, in this caſe differing from thoſe whoſe miſſions lay up the country. But with regard to the ſalt pits, aſked for the ſanctuary of Loretto, (they being a regality belonging to his excellency) we leave it to his pleaſure, that he may beſtow this favour for a limited time, or for ever."

The firſt article which father Bravo aſked, was pay for fifty ſoldiers, and another garriſon, either at La Paz, or Cape San Lucas. This was alſo granted; as was likewiſe a petition for a ſeminary for educating the children of California. The ſalt pits are thoſe in the iſland of Carmen, near Loretto. Father Salva-Tierra had often made intereſt for them, but was diſappointed; neither have they ſince been granted. Other articles requeſted by father Bravo, as a reward for capt. Don Eſtevan Rodrigues, the exemption of the two villages of Ahome, and Yaqui, from the Mita, and the works of his Indians were likewiſe referred to the viceroy. But the day following, the father met with a very unexpected mortification. The treaſurer Mendoza, who had always zealouſly countenanced the concerns of the miſſion, and even in an affair quite foreign to government, and who in the council had been approved of, and ſupported the vote, afterwards recollected that, for fifty ſoldiers, building and manning veſſels, diſcoveries of coaſts and harbours, maintaining garriſons at La Paz, and the ſouth coaſt, new miſſionaries, ſeminaries, and other articles included in the votes, the thirteen thouſand dollars, allowed by the king, (tho' till then never paid) would be ſo far from ſufficing, that there would be a neceſſity of tripling or quadrupling the ſum. This filled him with apprehenſions that the court of Madrid would highly diſapprove of ſuch profuſion, and the chief blame would fall upon him. It is not at all ſtrange, that this gentleman ſhould be afraid of Madrid, as till the happy reign of Philip V. nothing was heard of from thence but difficulties, debts, deficiencies, and orders for the ſtricteſt ſavings in the royal revenue; the conſequence of which was, that the nation in Europe and America, was like a body without a ſoul. The next day he communicated his thoughts and apprehenſions to the viceroy, and prevailed on him to order that the vote, having not yet paſſed thro' all the forms ſhould not be regiſtered. He immediately ſent for the fathers; and tho' theſe with the greateſt ſolidity enlarged on the reaſons, adduced in the council, the viceroy fluctuating betwixt the orders of their court, and the exaggerated apprehenſions of the treaſurer, he reduced the number of the ſoldiers from fifty to twenty-five; refuſed the ſettlement of a garriſon of fifteen ſoldiers at La Paz or San Lucas, tho' evidently neceſſary; would not admit the ſeminary, tho' before he thought one not ſufficient, and denied the ſalt pits. In ſhort, his ardorfor every particular ſeemed quite cooled. This did not diſcourage father Bravo from ſtrenuouſly puſhing the affair, but the remembrance of Madrid checked his reſolution to remove the difficulty for ſettling the pay of twenty-five ſoldiers, and the ſeamen on the footing of thoſe of Cinaloa, New

Biſcay, and the South ſea; but this amounting to a ſum of near nineteen thouſand dollars, he thought it too great; and altered the eſtabliſhment to that of the guard of the palace of Mexico, and the garriſon of Vera Cruz, and the Leeward iſlands. Thus the ſum was reduced to ten thouſand dollars. This ſeemed too little to father Bravo, who, finding his repreſentations of little conſequence, required a certificate of all that had paſſed, in order to appeal to his majeſty. This the viceroy was unwilling to give, tho' he allowed that the orders to him from his majeſty and the miniſter, were very ſhort and poſitive, that the enterprize ſhould be attempted at any expence. At laſt, after ſeveral delays, the treaſurer and viceroy flattering themſelves with the hopes that, in caſe of complaint, they ſhould excuſe themſelves from the abſolute reſolutions of the council, where every thing that had been aſked was readily granted, the firſt vote was ſigned and regiſtered; but with theſe reſtrictions, that the ſoldiers were reduced to half the number, the ſeminary, the garriſon at La Paz, and the other articles in it, totally omitted: but this vote was not added to the acts of the council, among which only were entered brigadier Jayme's memorials; and three years after, together with all the papers relating to the council, were left in the houſe of a private perſon. Eighteen thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-five dollars and four reals were allowed for the pay of the ſoldiers and ſailors, being on the ſame footing with thoſe of New Biſcay, and the South ſea. Three thouſand and twenty-threedollars were allowed for diſcharging the debts left at the death of father Salva-Tierra. Four thouſand dollars were iſſued out of the treaſury as the purchaſe-money of a veſſel for the ſervice of California; but after all this expence, ſhe was loſt the very next year in Matanchel harbour, through a fault in her keel. Every other particular which had been ordered, terminated only in the good inclination of the viceroy, who was entirely for reducing and peopling California, and making ſettlements along the coaſts; but was unwilling to advance the neceſſary ſums for executing that advantageous project.

But the king and miniſtry of Spain were very far from that ſordid parſimony as the council in America apprehended. At the ſame time, namely, towards the end of the year 1717, father Piccolo wrote a familiar letter to father Braſſal Jua, then rector of the college of Guadiana, in which he gave him an account of his diſcoveries in the north of California, and his ſucceſsful progreſs; the good diſpoſitions of the inhabitants of the ſouth and oppoſite coaſt for receiving the faith, if they had inſtructors, and laſtly of the poverty, danger, and melancholy condition in which they all lived for want of barks, proviſions, clothing and ſtock. This letter came to the hands of Don Pedro Tapiz, biſhop of Durango, to which dioceſe California belongs; and who was ſo extremely moved with this account, that he deſired the original letter might be left with him, and he would tranſmit it to his majeſty, together with a memorial from himſelf. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, 1718, he incloſed father Piccolo's letter in one which he wrote to his majeſty, wherein, after a pathetick repreſentation of the affairs of California, intermixed with political arguments, he begged the king to encourage theſe new chriſtian ſettlements, and augment the miſſionaries, that they might convert ſuch multitudes of people to the chriſtian faith. Theſe letters were received at Madrid in the year 1719, and his majeſty ordered them to be laid before the ſupreme council of the Indies; and with their advice, ſupported by the influence of cardinal Alberoni, he ſigned, on the 19th of January 1719, a new ſchedule, directed to the viceroy, in which, after inſerting what was given him at his departure for Mexico, " he again charged him in the ſtrong-eſt expreſſions to perform and execute what he had been ordered, as hitherto his majeſty had received no advice concerning it; and ſpeedily ſend him an account of the progreſs made therein."

On receiving this ſchedule, the viceroy had the mortification to find, that the acts of the council had not been tranſmitted to court, and that no account could be given of the papers relating to it. At laſt, they were found in a private houſe, as I have before mentioned; and tho' it is believed, that the viceroy had in his letters given his majeſty an account of the publick tranſactions; yet it does not appear by the offices, that the acts of the council were ſent to court.

In the ſame year 1719, cardinal Alberoni left Spain, and at the ſame time his vaſt projects relating to America, the Philippine iſlands, and the South ſea, together with thoſe concerning Europe, which are known to all the world, fell to the ground.

SECT. XIV.

Progreſs of the miſſions under father Siſtiaga and Tamaral. The miſſion La Puriſſima founded. A veſſel built in CALIFORNIA, by the diligence of father Ugarte. Father Bravo, obtains another at Mexico; and founds the miſſion de la Paz. At the ſame time father Helen founds that of Guadalupe.

After father Jayme Bravo had diſpatched the affairs of the miſſion at Mexico, and paid his compliments of thanks to the viceroy and other miniſters, his firſt care was to purchaſe the proviſions and goods ſo greatly wanted; after which he arrived together with father Sebaſtian de Siſtiaga at Loretto, in July 1718, in the Peruvian veſſel, purchaſed by the viceroy.

In autumn 1717, a moſt terrible hurricane aroſe, which extended all over California and its gulf, accompanied with ſuch violent rains as ſwept every thing away before it. The church and father Ugarte's houſe were laid level with the ground, and he himſelf ſaved his life under a rock, where he ſtood expoſed to all the ſeverity of the weather for twenty-four hours. The channel for conveying the water away was choked up, the ſluice at San Xavier carried away, and the land which had been ſown both there and at Mulege was utterly deſtroyed, and covered with ſtones. Such was the force of the blaſts, that at Loretto, a Spaniſh boy, called Matheo, was taken up by one of its gyrations, and never ſeen more, tho' the ſtricteſt ſearch was made after him. Several barks belonging to the divers, on the coaſt of California, were alſo loſt; and two belonging to Compoſtella, in which four perſons periſhed; but the reſt ſaved themſelves in two large bilanders, which happened to lie near them, and were ſtrongly moored under the ſhelter of a rock. In theſe the unhappy perſons were carried to Loretto, where father Ugarte received them with the moſt liberal affection, till they had an opportunity of returning to New Galicia in the viceroy's veſſel; and ſhe alſo was ſoon after loſt. The fathers had ſeen many hurricanes and heavy rains here, but none equal to this for violence or continuance. If in former ages theſe hurricanes were frequent in California, it is not ſurpriſing that all its mould ſhould have been ſwept away, its bare rocks alone remaining, and its plains and vallies covered with heaps of ſtones.

Now father Tamaral, with better hopes, went to the village of San Miguel, whither, as the firſt fruits of his miſſion, came two rancherias of Gentile Indians requeſting to be baptized, which,

which he accordingly performed. After which, with extreme difficulty, he made his way through the Sierra mountains to the rancherias of Cadigomo, which ſome years before had been viſited by father Piccolo. Here he was met by the rancherias of La Puriſſima Conception. He hoped at La Puriſſima to find greater conveniencies both for corn and paſture than at Cadigomo, where, tho' he afterwards made a ſluice or ditch for collecting water, it proved loſt labour, thro' the torrents and careleſſneſs of the Indians. At La Puriſſima he found the ſoil waſhed away by the late rains; but at laſt, after the toils of ſome years, he built a church and a houſe; and had ſeveral fields of maize in different parts for himſelf and his Indians. Another work of great difficulty was to make a way practicable for beaſts to the miſſion of Santa Roſalia, being the neareſt, in order to procure proviſions; the villages of San Miguel and San Xavier lay out of the way, beſides the danger and craggineſs of the road. He preſided over this new miſſion ſeveral years, and as a proof of his zeal and fervour, it is ſufficient to ſay, that under a very weak conſtitution and frequent illneſs, he extended it above 30 leagues in a mountainous, rocky country, and inhabited by above forty rancherias, which were continually ſhifting from place to place; thirty three of them he civilized and inſtructed;

and the number of ſouls baptized by him amounted to near two thouſand. Thus he modelled thoſe wretched ſavages into one of the moſt numerous and beſt governed miſſions in thoſe parts of the world.

Animated by the good diſpoſition of Madrid and Mexico, father Ugarte determined to attempt the execution of enterprizes which he alone was able to bring to an iſſue. He was very ſolicitous for an exact ſurvey of both coaſts of the gulf of California, and to determine beyond all doubt whether it was joined or not to the continent of New Spain; which many, notwithſtanding father Kino's diſcoveries very much doubted; apprehending, that betwixt Loretto and the river Colorado, there might be ſome channel or ſtreight, thro' which the gulf iſſued into the South ſea, and had been the paſſage for thoſe veſſels which were ſaid formerly to have ſailed quite round California. He was no leſs deſirous of reconnoitring by ſea the ſouth coaſt, in queſt of an harbour for the Philippine ſhips; not only as ſuch a deſign had been on foot from the very beginning of the undertaking, but as it was now ſtrongly recommended by the ſuperiors, in the name of the viceroy, as an article of his majeſty's orders. For ſuch expeditions, it was neceſſary to be provided with a large, ſtrong, and ſecure veſſel; but ſuch could not be procured

cured in all thoſe ſeas. The old San Xavier was not at all fit for the purpoſe; and that given by the viceroy was very little better. If they attempted to purchaſe another veſſel on the coaſt of Acapulco, they were ſure of being cheated as before; for the Peruvians are not very exact as to the ſtrength of ſuch veſſels, knowing the voyage is on a ſea which, except certain periodical gales, is truly pacifick. To build a new veſſel on the coaſts of New Spain, might be ſaid to throw both men and money into the ſea, on account of the former ſpecimens of the ignorance, fraud, and wickedneſs of the builders and workmen there in the ſeveral barks called the San Fermen, San Joſeph, and Roſaria.

The Philippine iſlands, tho' the diſtance of them would neceſſarily occaſion a long delay, might have afforded a veſſel ſufficiently large, as at preſent they build there veſſels of all kinds. But the ſyſtem of the commerce of Spain and Mexico made the Philippine iſlands an aſylum, or refuge, which was not then thought of, notwithſtanding the lights afforded in the orders of king Philip * III. The only reſource was to build a complete veſſel, and in poor barren California, where there was neither planks, ſails, rigging, tar, or any other neceſſaries

---

* See this prince's ſchedule of the 19th of Auguſt 1706, part 2, ſect. iv.

for ſuch a work: they had neither builder, ſhipwright, ſawyers, or other naval artificers; nor even ſo much as ſubſiſtence for ſuch a number of men.

Theſe difficulties appeared unſurmountable, eſpecially as the miſſion, even with the new allowances, laboured under great difficulties, the garriſon and the expences having increaſed more than in proportion; yet no other way was left for executing the king's orders, with which the advancement of religion was connected. Father Ugarte therefore undertook, and happily finiſhed, this difficult taſk: he brought a builder and artificers to Loretto, with a deſign to fetch the timbers from the other ſhore, as he had done with regard to thoſe for his churches. For none of the parts, hitherto diſcovered in California, afforded any of this kind. But being informed by the Indians, that 70 leagues north of Loretto there were large trees, he went in September 1719, with the builder, two ſoldiers, and ſome Indians to Mulege. From thence, in company with father Siſtiago, he paſſed thoſe craggy mountains which at preſent join to the miſſion of Guadalupe; and after inexpreſſible difficulties and toils, he found at length 30 leagues from Mulege a conſiderable number of guarivos; but ſtanding in ſuch bottoms and ſloughs, that the builder thought it impoſſible, conſidering the difficulty of the road, even to bring them to the ſea ſhore. The father however made no anſwer to the builder, but returned to Loretto, where the whole enterprize, and particularly this journey, had been the jeſt of the people. The father was not however intimidated; he again returned to the mountains, and in four months not only felled the timber, but cleared a road of 30 leagues, and brought the planks to the ſhore of Santa Roſalia Mulege, by the oxen and mules belonging to the miſſion. Three artificers only of the other coaſt offering their ſervice to fell the timber, all the other being chriſtians of California, or Gentiles of the neighbouring rancherias; and the carriage of which was performed by the ſavages of the mountains, whom at the ſame time he took an opportunity of civilizing and inſtructing in the principles of virtue and religion. Thus, at length, under this father's conduct, a veſſel was built, which, for beauty, largeneſs, ſtrength, and contrivance was much ſuperior, in the judgment of the American and Philippine artiſts, to any which had ever been ſeen on thoſe coaſts; and in ſo ſhort a time, that the ſame father launched her in September, 1709, and called her the Triumph of the Croſs. The building of this ſhip had exhauſted the whole remainder of the proviſions and money of the miſſion, tho' the Indians always took proper care to receive their allowance. He even did not ſpare the preſents ſent to him from his friends at Mexico for his private uſe. Yet in examining the account, the coſt of the veſſel appeared to be leſs than if ſhe had been built in New Spain.

Whilſt this veſſel, the only one till then of its kind, was building in California, the miſſion received another new veſſel, and a new agent in their temporal concerns. The Peru bark, given by the viceroy having been loſt in Auguſt 1719, and California being very much ſtreightened by the ordinary and extraordinary expence of the new ſoldiers and artificers at Mulege, brother Jayme Bravo, as purveyor, or agent, went from the miſſion to the coaſt of Cinaloa, to procure goods and proviſions. There he found letters from father Alexandro Romano, now provincial, in which, by order of the father Tamburini, the general, he was directed to come to Guadalaxara, and there to be ordained prieſt, that he might be qualified to be a miſſionary for California. The brother was greatly ſurpriſed at ſuch an order, but there was no declining it; and going to Guadalaxara, he in three ſucceſſive days, according to the privileges of the ſociety, was inveſted with the proper orders by Don Manuel de Membela, who received him with all the effuſions of paternal affection. From hence, by order of the ſame provincial, he went to Mexico, to give an account of the miſſion. The greateſt want at that time was ſhipping; for tho' the bilander was ſucceſsfully completed, ſhe was rather fit for making diſcoveries than for carrying goods and proviſions. This induced him in a kind of petitionary memorial to apply to the marquis de Valero, as viceroy, who referred the caſe to the treaſurer, as he did to the chamber of accounts; and the chamber to the council; and the diſcuſſion and deciſion of the affairs of California have ever been lodged in it. The council, on the 15th of March 1720, ordered to be delivered to father Jayme, a bark for Peru, which the viceroy had mentioned with the arms and ſtores he had deſired. The bark was not at Acapulco, but Guatulco, and from whence ſhe did not return till June. In the mean time, the marquis de Villa Puente, from his great ſenſe of the neceſſity that the Guaycuros ſhould be civilized and reduced, advanced the uſual fund for erecting a new miſſion at La Paz, deſiring at the ſame time that father Bravo would be the founder. The father the more readily accepted of the offer, as the enterpriſe in all appearance was not without imminent danger; and in July he ſet ſail for Acapulco, in his new bark, having on board clothing, utenſils, &c. for the garriſon and miſſion. He touched at Matanchel for taking in proviſions, and in Auguſt, to the great joy of all, he entered the bay of San Dionyſio, where he found the new Californian bilander.

The ſame year, 1720, was remarkable for the foundation of two new miſſions, one ſouth, and the other north, of Loretto, by which, beſides ſecuring the conqueſt, chriſtianity became conſiderably promoted. The firſt and the moſt neceſſary was that in La Paz bay, 80 leagues from Loretto, among the Guaycuros, tho' this is not the proper name of the people of thoſe countries, but Periques. The name of Guaycuros was given them in ſome former expeditions, when the ſoldiers heard the Indians often call to one another Guaxoro, Guaxoro, which, in their language, ſignifies friend; and from that time they were called Guaxoros, and ſince Guaycuros. Ever ſince the expedition of admiral Otondo, theſe Indians have been very ſuſpicious of the Spaniards, and at continual war with the divers, who viſit their coaſts. Generally both ſides were ſufferers, ſeveral being killed and taken priſoners in theſe rencounters; and it was to be feared, that ſome time or other, the Guaycuros would raiſe a rebellion, even among the converted nations. This induced father Salva-Tierra to pay them that unſucceſsful viſit, which we have already related. It was neceſſary to enter the country, both by ſea and land, at the ſame time; by land, in order to open a way for an intercourſe with Loretto, and to civilize the intermediate nations; and by ſea, for the more ready conveyance of men, proviſions, and other neceſſaries in ſo dangerous an enterpriſe. The expedition by land was committed to father Clemente Guillen for his miſſion of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui; that of the ſea, father Ugarte took upon himſelf, and made the firſt trial of the Californian bilander, called the Triumph of the Croſs. He embarked with father Bravo, who was extremely deſirous of entering on his miſſion on the 1ſt of November 1721; and being happily arrived at La Paz, the people were landed with all the care and regularity neceſſary in an enemy's country. But it ſoon appeared, that the danger was not ſo great as had been imagined, for tho' ſome Guaycuros at a diſtance appeared in arms, as ſoon as they ſaw the fathers, who advanced towards them with only an Indian interpreter, they ſat themſelves down on the ground, as a ſign of their friendly diſpoſitions. The fathers with many affectionate geſtures diſtributed among them ſome pieces of ſackcloth, knives, razors, and other utenſils, and alſo ſome toys; which they received with great joy as highly valuing them, and by means of the Indians they were given to underſtand, that the fathers came to be their friends and to bring about a reconciliation between them, and the inhabitants of the iſlands of San Joſeph, and Spiritu Santo, and other neighbouring people, who were inveterate enemies to the Guaycuros, and had committed ſeveral maſſacres on them. They expreſſed a great deal of joy; but for ſeveral days were ſomething ſhy of the ſoldiers. At length they gradually came even from diſtant rancherias, being principally encouraged by the three priſoners left by father Salva-Tierra, who had given them a full account of their kind entertainment at Loretto; which, with the ſingular talent of father Urgarte to procure reſpect, and even the love of the ſavages, gave ſo happy a turn to affairs, that arbours and huts were erected for all the people, and a piece of ground was cleared for the church and a village. The proviſions and beaſts were brought aſhore from the bilander, and to the great ſurprize and delight of the Guaycuros, the new miſſion was founded.

But what occaſioned no little diſquietude, was, that no account came of father Guillen's company. He had undertaken the journey with ſome ſoldiers and Indians; but ſuch were the difficulties occaſioned by the mountains, woods, and bogs, that they travelled above 100 leagues before they came in ſight of the bay; where they ſaw the bilander, which they ſaluted with their muſquetry. Boats were immediately ſent to bring them to the huts, where they landed with reciprocal joy, and without meeting with any oppoſition, or even ſigns of apprehenſion in the Guaycuros. Father Ugarte continued three months at La Paz, and gained in a ſurpriſing degree the affection of theſe ſavages. He alſo negociated a peace between them and the iſlanders, whom, by the irreſiſtible ſweetneſs of his temper, he perſuaded to land upon the continent, where both parties ſhewed all the marks of a ſincere reconciliation. They were alſo very urgent with him to deliver them from the tyranny of the divers. Accordingly he left father Bravo, and ſome ſoldiers for their ſecurity; and toward the end of January 1721, embarked for Loretto, and the Ligui returned by the new roads made thro' theſe inhoſpitable deſerts; father Bravo only remaining with ſome ſoldiers. The father here, as in every new miſſion, firſt applied himſelf to learn the language; after which he built a church, parſonage, and huts, and applied himſelf with the greateſt aſſiduity to conciliate their affections, civilize, inſtruct, aſſiſt, and relieve them in every thing within his power. Theſe true chriſtian offices he continued till the year 1728, when he returned to Loretto to aſſiſt father Piccolo, who, beſides his advanced age, was in a bad ſtate of health. In theſe ſix years he baptized above ſix hundred children and adults; increaſed the miſſion to eight hundred adults, whom he aſſembled in three villages, Nueſtra Sennora del Pilar de la Paz, Todos Santos, and Angel de la Guarda. He prevailed on ſeveral ſavages to live in friendſhip; and diſcovered ſome tracts 20 leagues from La Paz, proper for planting maize, which he accordingly cauſed to be cultivated.

During the ſtay of the three fathers at La Paz, the north miſſion, under the patronage of Nueſtra Sennora de Guadalupe was founded. Father Ugarte, while he continued amongſt the mountains, felling timber for the bilander, had inſpired all the Cochimies of thoſe parts with ſuch a love for chriſtianity, that meſſengers were ſent daily to him with requeſts that he would again viſit them. The father readily complied, and was accompanied by father Everard Helen, a new miſſionary, who had been ſent to California in April 1719. On his re-imbarking for La Paz, he left directions for commencing that foundation; and ſoon after ſent father Helen thither, who had already learned ſomething of the language, under the diſagreeable inſtruction of an Indian. He was accompanied by the captain and ſome ſoldiers; and on the 26th of December 1720, arrived at Huaſinapi, 60 leagues north of Loretto.

This country lies in 27 deg. N. latitude in the centre of the Sierra, 27 leagues N. W. of San Ignacio, and 30 from Concepcion; the climate cold and unhealthy. Hither the Indians repaired from all the rancherias of the country, expreſſing the greateſt ſatisfaction and joy that the father was come to live among them. Immediately a church was begun, and dedicated to Nueſtra Sennora de Guadalupe, a houſe for the father, and likewiſe cottages and huts for the Indians; and what was very extraordinary, the captain and ſoldiers, laying aſide their uſual diſguſt and ſloth, readily aſſiſted in all theſe works. In the midſt of this ſucceſs, he alſo received ſeveral meſſages, deſiring he would viſit the moſt diſtant rancherias, to inſtruct the ſick and aged, who were unable to come to the miſſion.

In the mean time the captain and his men diligently forwarded the little buildings of the miſſion; and at the end of ſix weeks, every thing being in a good condition, the captain departed, leaving four ſoldiers as guards, which, from the diſtance of the country, and the little reliance that can be placed on the Indians, he thought the more neceſſary. The fervour of the Indians continued in its full force, ſo that father Helen was enabled to celebrate the firſt baptiſm of adults on Eaſter-eve 1721. This awakened impatient deſires in the other diſtant rancherias, which were very urgent for baptiſm; but the father gave them to underſtand, that this was not to be expected till they were inſtructed to his ſatisfaction, and brought to him the little pieces of wood, hair, cloaks, deers feet, a kind of periwigs, and other trumpery uſed in their preſtiges and impoſtures, as they had done who were baptized. This was a difficult point to gain, the more artful among them practiſing theſe tricks to inſpire others with veneration, and draw from them every thing they wanted. The father, however, did not find among them any formal idolatry, or real ſorcery, or that they had any compact with evil ſpirits or any thing of that nature. But on the contrary, was convinced, from repeated inſtances, that thoſe called ſorcerers, were mere cheats by profeſſion, who pretended to be inveſted with a ſecret power from heaven, for doing good or harm; and that this trade was generally followed by perſons advanced in years, in order, by theſe deluſions, to acquire a plentiful and eaſy ſubſiſtence, when they were no longer able to ſeek it among the mountains and foreſts. They alſo ſet up for phyſicians and to undertake to teach children uſeful and aſtoniſhing myſteries; but the whole was entirely founded on falſhood and deceit; and their intention nothing more than to ſubſiſt by the labours of others. * This was however the greateſt impediment to the propagation of chriſtian religion. And therefore father Helen, in imitation of the other miſſionaries, inſiſted on their bringing to him all the inſtruments of their ſuperſtition, and this the Indians at laſt complied with, and a great quantity of them being brought from all the rancherias, the father publickly burnt them.

The following years 1722, and 1723, were very calamitous to all California, and particularly to the new miſſion of Guadalupe. In the year 1722, the whole peninſula was invaded by ſuch multitudes of locuſts, that ſometimes like thick clouds they intercepted the rays of the ſun in their flight. The pitahayas and other fruits, on which the Indians chiefly ſubſiſt, were conſumed by theſe inſects, and had not the fathers diſtributed

---

* See part. I. ſect. VII.

maize at the miſſions, great numbers of the Indians muſt abſolutely have periſhed. But as there was not a ſufficiency to ſupport all of them, eſpecially in Guadalupe, the Indians endeavoured to deſtroy the inſects in order to prevent the ſame plague the enſuing year, and uſe them for food in their preſent diſtreſs. But the conſequence of feeding on theſe creatures, was a general epidemia accompanied with malignant ulcers, which carried off great numbers. It is impoſſible to expreſs the fatigue of father Helen on this occaſion, for the relief of his Californian children. He was continually going from one rancheria to another, among thoſe craggy mountains, in the ſeveral capacities of phyſician, confeſſor, prieſt, nurſe, and father. The height of ſuch a complication of diſtreſſes pierced his heart: but much more when he heard of the monſtrous inhumanity of ſome rancherias, where, when any one was ſeized with the diſtemper, and had any food remaining, they buried him alive, or covered him with boughs, and ſo left him to periſh.

Scarce was this epidemia over, when in the following year 1723, a dyſentery raged with ſtill greater havock. The father continued during this ſecond viſitation, the ſame devout and charitable offices with ſo little regard to his own health, that he contracted a dangerous hernia, and an inceſſant defluxion of the eyes, attended with ſuch extreme pain, that he was obliged to retire to Loretto for ſome months, another father being ſent to ſupply his place. But as ſoon as he was able he returned to his miſſion, where he was received with all the marks of eſteem and veneration by his afflicted Indians, who had been witneſſes of his conſtant attendance on 228 adult chriſtians of ſeveral rancherias who died at that time: beſides a great number who, under God, entirely owed their lives to his aſſiſtance. The father availed himſelf of this love of the grateful Californians for promoting the chriſtian religion, ſo that father Juan de Gandulain in his viſitation in the year 1726, found no leſs than 32 rancherias converted; containing 1707 chriſtians of all ages. Some of theſe were incorporated into the miſſion of Santa Roſalia Mulege; and others to that of San Ignacio ſince founded, as more conveniently ſituated for their benefit. Twenty rancherias diſperſed among the mountains as the conveniency of water would admit, remained to the care of the miſſion of Guadalupe. Theſe the father gathered together in five villages, each with a chapel; and here the Indians live in the moſt pleaſing order and devotion, according to the general method already deſcribed. The ſowing of any grain has been found impracticable all over the Sierra. But the father had procured ſome cattle which he diſtributed among them; and theſe, with the maize given them, made a great part of their ſubſiſtence. They have beſides their native fruits and vegetables, which they go in ſearch of in ſmall bodies. As nature muſt neceſſarily in proceſs of time ſink under violent and continual labours, ſo father Helen's former diſorder returned upon him, complicated with others: yet, in this melancholy condition, he was for dying among his Indians. But his ſuperiors conſulting his relief more than he himſelf did, ordered him to a more eaſy function in New Spain. And thus at the end of the year 1735, to their reciprocal grief, he left his Guadalupe Indians.

SECT. XV.

Father Guillen undertakes to ſurvey the weſtern coaſt; and father Ugarte that of the gulf of CALIFORNIA to the river Colorado: three harbours diſcovered on the coaſt of the South ſea.

The long deſire of finding, on the weſtern coaſt of California, a convenient harbour for the Philippine ſhips was revived by the ſtrict injunction of his excellency the marquis de Valero the viceroy, who, purſuant to the orders ſent him from Madrid, was concerting meaſures for eſtabliſhing colonies and garriſons on the coaſt. In order to accompliſh this deſign, three operations were more particularly neceſſary. The firſt was to take a punctual ſurvey by ſea of the whole ſouth coaſt from cape San Lucas northward, as before had been done in the preceding century by captain Viſcaino. But this was now impoſſible to be executed by the jeſuits, though father Ugarte was confident of ſucceſs; for if, with many and large ſhips well manned and provided with neceſſaries, and the treaſury open to anſwer any expence, that officer's voyage was attended with ſuch danger, delays, and diſappointments, how ſhould the Californian miſſion of itſelf attempt ſuch an enterpriſe with only its veſſels, ſtock of proviſions, and people, all which were far from being ſufficient for taking a ſurvey adequate to the purpoſe? The ſecond operation was to go in queſt of ſuch an harbour by land. This had been attempted ſeveral times at a great expence and to no purpoſe: for after carefully viewing by land, ſeveral parts of the oppoſite coaſts, no harbour ſufficient to anſwer the intention could be found; nor was the land fit for making ſuch ſettlement, neither freſh water, wood, paſtures, nor arable lands being known on the whole coaſt:

and there was little hopes of meeting with a more favourable country, as the coaſt did not extend itſelf farther to the northward than ſome of the miſſions already eſtabliſhed. However, to remove all complaint of a want of care and diligence, father Clemente Guillen was charged to make a new attempt. The third operation relative to the ſame deſign of both the northern coaſts, was to take a ſurvey of the gulf of California: and to aſcertain whether California was joined to the continent of New Spain as father Kino affirmed; or whether, on the contrary, it was an iſland; and that the gulf iſſued through ſome unknown paſſage into the South ſea, either on this or the other ſide of the mouth of the river Colorado, according to the opinion that then prevailed in Mexico; where ſome did not ſcruple to treat the diſcoveries of father Kino as chimeras, notwithſtanding the applauſe they met with in Europe. If California was connected with the continent, the noble plans of the fathers Kino and Salva-Tierra, for extending their reſpective miſſions northward, remain in full force, though at that time unſucceſsful: Kino's plan related to thoſe of Pimeria, and Salva-Tierra's to thoſe of California: and theſe were to be extended till they met on the banks of the Colorado in 33 or 34 degrees latitude. And from thence with united endeavours, and reciprocal aſſiſtance, as ſuccours might be then eaſily conveyed to them by land, their reſpective territories were to be continually enlarged thro' countries, which from information and appearances had ſo good a ſoil as to make ample returns for any culture, till they reached the coaſt of the famous Puerto de Monte Rey, and Cape Mendozino in 37 and 40 degrees, being the moſt proper ſituation for a port for the Philippine ſhips. This ſurvey of the gulf, being an enterpriſe of the greateſt difficulty and danger, father Ugarte undertook; and whilſt he was making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for it, he deſired father Guillen to execute the expedition with which he was charged.

It was known by the narrative of captain Viſcaino, that in the latitude of 24 or 25 degrees, he had diſcovered in the South coaſt a ſpacious bay, where ſhips might be ſecure from the violence of the winds and ſea, and had called it La Magdalena. Hither, as to a place already diſcovered by ſea, and leſs difficult to be ſurveyed by land, father Clemente Guillen directed his courſe in the year 1719, accompanied by captain don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, a party of ſoldiers, and three bodies of Californians armed in their manner. They travelled twenty five days amidſt all the hardſhips

ſhips and fatigues naturally to be expected in ſuch a craggy and barren country: and the Indians every where taking the alarm at ſeeing ſuch a number of ſtrange people in their country, rendered it neceſſary to obſerve the greateſt order and circumſpection in the march. At laſt they came to Magdalena bay, which lies in the diſtrict of the miſſion of St. Luis Gonzaga ſince founded. It was every where ſheltered from the winds by lofty mountains, and about half a league in breadth, running up the country towards cape San Lucas. Near this arm they diſcovered a rancheria of Indians, with whom, by means of little preſents, they entered into terms of peace and amity. On enquiring of the Indians after water, they were informed, and their own ſearches confirmed their report, that the only freſh water thereabouts was in a well dug in the ſand, and which the Indians made uſe of. They added that a neighbouring iſland called Santa Roſa which they frequently viſited, afforded a ſufficiency of water: but they were without any means of croſſing the channel to it; neither did they find in the bay thoſe azure ſhells, or appearance of the rich pearl beds with which this coaſt was ſaid to abound. It being known that the bay had two entrances, the captain ſent ſome of his men to reconnoitre that on the ſouth ſide, and by following the courſe of a brook obſerve whether the other arm of the bay, which forms the harbour called del Marques, afforded a watering place. In this ſurvey they obſerved at a diſtance the ſecond mouth or arm; but found that the brook long before its joining the ſea, ran thro' ſome ponds of brackiſh water, ſo that there was no poſſibility for the ſhips to water here. This diſcovery induced them to attempt a ſurvey of the whole tract: but in ſome parts the inacceſſible rocks, and in others impaſſable marſhes obliged them to make a circuit to the rancheria called San Benito de Aruy, four leagues from the ſea, where the Indians gave them the ſame diſcouraging account of the want of water on the coaſt. Here all the people met, and father Guillen uſed his utmoſt endeavours for inducing them to undertake a ſurvey of the remaining part of the coaſt, or at leaſt as far as poſſible towards the ſouth. But the captain and ſoldiers were not to be prevailed upon: and the Indians after ſuch diſcouraging circumſtances inſiſted on returning to Loretto. Thus father Guillen was obliged to renounce his ſcheme, and prepare for a return, taking with him for guides ſome Indians of that coaſt with whom he had contracted a friendſhip; and by their direction avoided ſo many circuits and difficult paſſes, that in fifteen days they reached ed Loretto, after travelling about ſeventy leagues.

The enterpriſe which father Ugarte had taken on himſelf proved more fortunate, tho' the fatigues and dangers were incomparably greater. On the 15th of May 1721, he ſailed from the bay of San Dionyſio de Loretto in the bilander built here, and called the Triumph of the Croſs, carrying with him a boat alſo built here, and called the Santa Barbara, ſix feet broad, eleven in the keel, and without a deck: the uſe of it was to ſound and ſurvey thoſe parts the bilander could not approach. On board the bilander were twenty perſons, ſix of whom were Europeans; and of theſe two had paſſed the ſtreights of Magellan; another, beſides being acquainted with the Atlantick ocean, had made a voyage to the Philippine iſlands, and been carried priſoner to Batavia, when the Philippine ſhip was taken off cape San Lucas, and another had made ſeveral voyages to Newfoundland: the reſt were Indians of the country. The pilot called Guilermo Eſtrafort was a man of learning and experience: in the pinnace or boat were eight perſons, two Chineſe or Philippines, which, in the common language of New Spain, is ſynonymous, a Yuaqui Indian and five Californians; making in all twenty eight perſons. The ſtock of proviſions which they took on board was but very ſmall for ſo uncertain a voyage, expecting agreeable to a promiſe made the year before by a miſſionary of Pimeria, to meet with a plentiful ſupply on the oppoſite coaſt of the Seris. They ſailed up the gulf with a fair wind to Conception bay and the river Mulege, where father Ugarte viſited the miſſion of Santa Roſalia and its miſſionary father Siſtiaga. Thence they proceeded to take draughts of the coaſt of California as far as the neighbourhood of the iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedas: and then acroſs the gulf to the harbour of Santa Sabina, and the bay of San Juan Baptiſta, both lying near thoſe iſlands on the coaſt of the Tepoquis and Seris. They reached the harbour in five days: but on landing met with no Indian on the ſhore; tho' before they came from the ſhip, they ſaw an Indian, who, after fixing a croſs in the ſand, retired. our men immediately made up to the croſs, approaching it with all the geſtures of reverence. At this the Indian gave a ſhout, and immediately his companions, who lay concealed, and had likewiſe obſerved that the bilander had a croſs on her bowſprit, made their appearance with all the ſigns of peace and friendſhip. Father Salva-Tierra had informed them of theſe ſigns, and recommended to them a hoſpitable behaviour towards the companies of all ſuch ſhips as carried a croſs, it being a ſure ſign that they belonged to the fathers of California.

The Indians were ſo impatient of ſeeing the father, that inſtead of waiting till he came aſhore, ſeveral of them threw themſelves into the ſea and ſwam on board the ſhip, embraced his feet, kiſſed his hands and face, with other tokens of rapture and affection. The father, who was not wanting in ſuitable returns, entertained them, as he did thoſe on the land. Two of them he charged with a letter to the father miſſionary of San Ignacio, who had made an offer of proviſions; and theſe he before had rewarded with a canvaſs frock and ſome toys. Immediately all the empty caſks were carried aſhore for taking in water: and the ſight of them ſeemed to raiſe a diſpute among the Indians. Soon after they all went away intimating by ſigns that they would return the next day. Our men were not without apprehenſions: and it growing late, for their greater ſecurity they returned on board; early the next day the Indians appeared in troops, and all with water veſſels; the men each with two in nets hanging from a pole acroſs their ſhoulders, and the women with one. This kindneſs the father returned, and they earneſtly requeſted him to viſit the Indians in the neighbouring iſlands as being their kinſmen. He complied with their deſires, and that very evening ſetting out with two Indians of the coaſt, they found themſelves very early in the morning in a narrow channel, which they imagined to run betwixt the iſland and the continent, and were therefore for examining it. In order to which the canoe and the pinnace went further up, but ſoon found themſelves in a place from whence they could hardly return. The channel, beſides being narrow and crooked, was ſo full of ſhoals, that tho' the pilot went before in the boat as a guide, the bilander ſtuck, and was in danger of being loſt: but was at laſt got off with great difficulty. Another accident which increaſed their concern was, the canoe and pinnace being carried away by the current to ſuch a diſtance as not to be ſeen. The bilander was now under a neceſſity of going further up the channel, notwithſtanding the many dangers viſible on every ſide.

At laſt after three days of continual danger, they reached the mouth of the channel, where they found the boat and pinnace: but inſtead of running into the gulf, as they had imagined, it opened into a large and ſpacious bay, whence having a clear view of the iſland they were going to, they ſteered for it, without any difficulty or danger. The pinnace led, and at about the diſtance of a muſket-ſhot, obſerved that the people on it were armed in their manner with bows and arrows, and a kind of helmet of feathers, making the ſhores ring with their ſhouts, intending to intimidate the people in the pinnace: but the Indians, their countrymen, having ſwam aſhore and informed them that the father was come in that ſhip to viſit them, laid down their arms, received our people with all the marks of pleaſure, and directed them to the harbour where they found both good water and a ſafe anchoring-place. Accordingly the bilander went thither and came to an anchor: but father Ugarte was ſeized with ſuch violent pains from his waiſt downwards, that he found it impoſſible to go aſhore. This diſtemper he had contracted in the harbour of the Seris, where he was thoroughly wet by the ſea at landing, but laboured as much as any of the ſailors in taking in water. The iſlanders ſeeing that the father did not come aſhore, made thirteen balſillas or ſmall floats on which fifty Indians went on board the bilander, requeſting him that he would come to their iſland, where they had already prepared a houſe for his reception: at this the father, tho' every motion put him to extreme torture, gave directions for helping him into the boat, and when he came on ſhore, was carried by the ſeamen and Californians, the iſlanders ſtanding to receive him in two rows; one of women and the other

f men. When he was ſeated in his houſe,
hich was made of boughs of trees and had
wo doors, the iſlanders came in one by one,
ithout the leaſt tumult; firſt the men and then
e women. They entered by one door, and
s they paſſed along, bowed their heads, that
e father might lay his hand upon them: which
e did with great affection; after which they
tired by the other; and all was perform-
d in ſurpriſing order. This tranſitory viſit
as the whole ceremony, after which the
landers gathered about the father, who endea-
oured to ſupport himſelf as well as poſſible
nder his excruciating pains, that he might re-
ive them with all poſſible affability. He re-
ommended to them to go to the miſſion del
opulo, about two or three days journey
om the neighbouring coaſt, and bring with
em to their iſland an Indian Temachtian or
acher to inſtruct them. The time he ſtayed
re was but ſhort, being obliged to return to
e coaſt for a ſupply of proviſions. Accord-
gly he re-embarked, and continued his voyage
the mouth of the little river Caborca.

In his farther ſurvey of the coaſt the only
nvenient place he met with was a ſmall and
en bay, where they anchored. From thence
e pinnace was ſent to reconnoitre the coaſt far-
er to the northward, and obſerve the ſigns of

Pimeria along it, which were ſome ſand-banks beyond Coſta Brava; three men were alſo ſent to ſurvey it by land. Theſe returned in a day or two, reporting that the coaſt all along was without any bay; and all that they had diſcovered remarkable, was a pit of foul water, a path, and the tracks of a mule. On this information the father immediately diſpatched two ſeamen, who, following the track, on the third day came to the miſſion of Conception la Caborca, where they found father Luis Gallardi, who had been lately ſent thither. They delivered him father Ugarte's letters for himſelf and the father miſſionary of San Ignacio, deſiring the latter to furniſh the proviſions he had offered the preceding year. As he had already received the former letter ſent by the Seris, he immediately ſet out with what proviſions and neceſſaries he could get together, being indeed but a ſmall quantity, both meſſages coming at a time, when he was unprovided: for tho' father Ugarte had informed him, how acceptable his offer was and likewiſe ſpecified the time of his expedition; yet theſe letters the father never received, ſo that he concluded his voyage would not take place that year. He alſo collected what he could at Caborca for the aſſiſtance of the bilander, and went to the ſhore, where father Ugarte waited the return of his meſſengers. But his pains ſtill raged in all their violence, and for relief he was obliged to continue on his knees, this being the only poſture in which he found any eaſe. It was now twelve days ſince his pains had hindered him from going aſhore; tho' this was partly owing to the roughneſs of the ſea, for after he was twice put into the canoe, they were not able to land him. However, on advice, that the father miſſionary of San Ignacio was coming, he was with no ſmall danger as well as labour carried aſhore, whence he went a league and a half to meet him; and found himſelf much eaſier by this exerciſe.

The father was extremely concerned for the ſlender ſupply he brought, and under this exigency meaſures were taken for purchaſing proviſions among the neareſt habitations of the Pima Indians, partly on credit, and partly by the things brought on board the bilander: meaſures were alſo now taken for watering, which, notwithſtanding the diſtance, was done in a ſhort time by the contrivance of father Ugarte, who placed the people at certain diſtances; and thus the veſſels were carried from one to the other. In the mean time the bilander was in continual danger from the great agitation of the ſea; one of her cables was already broke, and the bowſprit, tho' of maria, a very ſtrong kind of wood, was carried away by a wave, but the greateſt part of it was thrown into the bilander by the motion of the ſea. The day following, the weather proving fair, the bowſprit was fixed as well as poſſible, and the veſſels of water taken on board. However the ſhip's company were under great dejection; the croſs, placed on the bowſprit, being loſt: but was afterwards recovered by an Indian, and again fixed at the end of the bowſprit.

During theſe tranſactions, the people of the bilander ſaw at a diſtance a Californian young man, who went in the pinnace to take a ſurvey of the coaſt: they had all, for ſome time, concluded, that the whole company had periſhed either by the waves or famine, as they had only a week's proviſion aboard; and ſome of the ſhip's company had ranged the coaſt to a great diſtance north and ſouth, without being able to acquire any account of them. The Californian was followed by three of his companions, who related that after great fatigues and dangers from the boiſterous waves, they put into a large ſhallow bay, where at night they anchored in two fathom water: but in the morning found the boat quite dry, the ſea having ebbed away above two leagues: ſo that from the place where they were, they could not diſcern the water; and part of her keel was broken off.

In this ſituation four of them left the pinnace to ſearch for water; and ſeeing nothing but death before them in that deſert country, the proviſions in the pinnace being nearly ſpent, they determined not to return, but keep as near the ſhore as poſſible, till they reached Yagui, in caſe it was not their good fortune to meet with the bilander before. On this advice water and proviſions were immediately diſpatched to the place; and the men in the pinnace, who at the return of the flood had with great difficulty brought her into a creek, being revived by this ſupply, repaired the keel, and putting to ſea, joined the bilander within four days. On the ſecond of July, they all left this dangerous ſituation, intending to abandon theſe barren coaſts, which, after all the exact obſervations in the pinnace, afforded neither watering place, nor ſafe harbour; for, with regard to the bays, which were ſaid to be marks of Pimeria, they were certainly formed by the impetuoſity of the tides.

Accordingly they ſteered towards the coaſt of California, and in three days croſſed the gulf, the breadth of which in thoſe parts, does not exceed forty leagues, and came to an anchor, without entering the harbour, and ſent the pinnace aſhore: but at the ſight of the boat the Indians came down to the ſhore armed, and having drawn a line on the ſtrand made threatening ſigns to thoſe who were coming aſhore, if they offered to ſet a foot beyond it. But our people by ſigns and little preſents changed their diſpoſition, ſo that they came up to them in a friendly manner, and carried them to the rancheria or watering place: and from thence to another ſtill larger, and at no great diſtance. With theſe recommendations from one to another, our people went nine leagues along the ſhore, where they found five watering places, and at each a rancheria; all the inhabitants of which received our people with candour and frankneſs. The bilander likewiſe continued her voyage in ſearch of an harbour or bay; and after weathering a point of land which projected a conſiderable diſtance into the ſea, ſhe came into a large bay, where ſhe anchored, the ſhore ſheltering her from the ſouth eaſt wind, which at that time prevailed. But here they met with a circumſtance more formidable than the wind itſelf, namely the rapidity of the currents, which prevented the veſſel from riding with her head to the wind, and cauſed her to roll as if in a violent ſtorm. Hereupon, whilſt the pinnace went nearer the land in ſearch of an harbour, Strafort the pilot determined to go aſhore in the boat, in order to find an anchoring place farther up the bay: the boat was ſoon out of ſight, and did not appear again till the next day, when ſhe came along ſide, but in ſo ſhattered a condition, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the people were taken on board.

The pilot reported, that having left the boat a day on the ſand, he and his companions went up to the rancheria, where the Indians received them with all the ſigns of friendſhip; and that he diſtributed amongſt them ſeveral toys; but amidſt theſe reciprocations of good will, the tide returned, not gradually as uſual, but with dreadful roarings; and on a ſudden roſe above three fathom. The boat was in an inſtant thrown among the rocks, and in a ſhort time ſplit into two ſeparate pieces from head to ſtern. The Indians came up to their aſſiſtance, and by ſigns expreſſed their concern: and one of them in particular, gave them to underſtand, that in the neighbourhood there was wood of the ſame kind for building another. But this in their ſituation was impracticable; the only reſource was to faſten the two pieces with nails taken out of the oars; with the ſounding line and painter, they made oakum for caulking the ſeams, while clay ſupplied the place of pitch and tar. This took them up great part of the night, the Indians aſſiſting them with lights, which were perceived from the bilander; and the next day at the return of the flood, they put to ſea, keeping near the ſtrand, that on any emergency they might get on ſhore. One of them was continually employed in throwing out the water; yet when they were near the bilander, it gained ſo faſt upon them, that they gave themſelves over for loſt. Soon after the pinnace returned, without having met with any harbour in the diſtance of twenty leagues. They had alſo been in great diſtreſs for want of water, but on advancing towards the ſhore, they ſaw ſeveral Indians, and by ſigns informed them of their diſtreſs; and the Indians by others, that they underſtood them; and accordingly diſpatched two women for water. When the crew ſaw them returning with it, they came aſhore without any apprehenſion, and took what they judged would ſuffice them till they reached the bilander, where every one was impatiently expecting the iſſue of their ſurvey. On this report the bilander ſtood again to the northward; and after ſome days ſailing, the colour of the water was perceived to alter, being ſometimes of an aſhcolour, and ſometimes black; but generally reddiſh. This laſt appearance gave them to underſtand that they were not far from the river Colorado or red river; ſo that to avoid the ſhoals, they ſtood away to the coaſt of Pimeria, the pinnace continually ſounding a-head. In the middle of the gulf, the water was more turbid; and near the coaſt the depth of it was found in ſome places to be ſeven, eight, ten fathoms and more, always varying and without any contiguous channel. They now came to an anchor near the iſſue of the river on the Pimeria ſide, where they obſerved two of its mouths, which ejected into the ſea graſs, leaves, weeds, trunks of trees, burnt logs, the timbers of cottages and the like. When the inundations ceaſed, the ſhip's company were for going up the river on diſcoveries; but father Ugarte oppoſed this as on the two preceding nights the weather had been very tempeſtuous with thunders and lightnings and violent rains, which had occaſioned the two inundations they had obſerved in the river; and that as the aſpect of the ſky continued ſtill threatening, another flood was to be apprehended; and ſhould this happen when they were in the river, they muſt inevitably be loſt. Beſides, father Ugarte and ſeveral others were very ill. They therefore croſſed the mouth of the Colorado at a convenient diſtance, and anchored in four fathom water, being continually afraid of running on the ſands.

On comparing this account with the ſurvey, taken by father Fernando Conſag in 1746, it appears that of the two channels ſeparated by an iſland, and through which the Colorado iſſues into the ſea, father Ugarte only paſſed that on the eaſt of the iſland, or the Pimeria ſide; and that when at anchor betwixt them, he ſaw at a diſtance the other on the weſt. From the ſame ſtation father Ugarte had a clear and diſtinct view of the Cape of California, joining to the neighbouring mountains, and ſeparated from the coaſt of Pimeria only by the river. If he did not go aſhore at this point of land in order to a farther inveſtigation, it muſt be imputed partly to his indiſpoſition, and the ilneſs of his ſhip's company; and partly to what he had obſerved of the flood and ebb. In thoſe parts the tide ſhifts every ſix hours; the flood with a frightful impetuoſity riſes from three to ſeven fathoms, overflowing the flat country for ſome leagues; and the ebb neceſſarily returns with the ſame dangerous violence: and the bilander was without any ſecure anchoring place, nor was there an harbour at hand. He found in thoſe waters the ſame noxious quality, which has ſince been confirmed by father Conſag, namely, that they raiſe bliſters and cauſe very ſharp pains, eſpecially in the more ſenſible parts; and which are not healed for ſome months. However the pilot who went on ſhore in the pinnace at ſeveral parts in order to make a complete drawing of it for his chart, was equally convinced that this cape was the extremity of the gulf of California, and that the waters beyond it were thoſe of the river Colorado. By the ſounding there appeared no ſigns of a channel which muſt have been large and deep: but four or five fathom was the greateſt depth. The bottom is of a ſlimy viſcid clay ſticking to the anchor. There is no appearance of a channel as far as the eye can reach; which, in a northern direction, every where ſees the land. The dangerous and extraordinary tides in thoſe parts, as on both coaſts, are a farther proof that the gulf is confined there: for had it any diſcharge or outlet towards the South ſea, its waters would not riſe with ſuch rapidity, or to ſuch a height, if they were not contracted at the extremity of their courſe, and at the end of the ſtreight checked by thoſe of the river Colorado. In fine a council of the marinerswas held, in which it was reſolved, that it was impoſſible for the bilander to continue in ſuch a critical ſtation without any ſafe harbour, in bad weather; that the pinnace being without a deck was in danger by the fury of the tides and the tempeſts; and that it would be rather raſhneſs than courage to proceed. This was followed by a general ſhout of boen viage. And on the 16th of July of the ſame year

1721, being the day of the Triumph of the Croſs, they weighed in order to return to California.

They continued their courſe along the middle of the gulf, but ſometimes ſtood over to one coaſt, and ſometimes to another, on account of the ſhoals and ſmall iſlands, which they were to ſurvey. In the mean time violent tempeſts and rains came on, by which very probably they would have been loſt, had they, as ſome propoſed, ſailed up the river Colorado. The father, who was in the bilander, informed the mate in the pinnace, that being without a deck, he was expoſed to great danger in ſuch weather, that the boat was not of much importance if the people were ſaved; and therefore deſired he would quit her, and come on board the bilander: but the intrepid ſailor anſwered, that he did not fear the dangers of the ſea; adding that if he would ſupply him with proviſions, he would return to Loretto, keeping cloſe along ſhore, that on any exigency they might ſave themſelves. Accordingly, having received the proviſions, he put off in the pinnace to continue his voyage. The bilander was now arrived at the iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedes, of which there is a great number, forming different channels at the entrance of a wide bay known among the divers, by that name. Here they were in ſuch danger, that being driven by the wind and currents to avoid ſhipwreck, they were obliged to ride at anchor ſeveral nights; at laſt after many tedious tacks they weathered the iſland of Tiburon; poſſibly the ſame that father Conſag in his map calls the Angel de la Guarda, when the rapidity of the currents drove them ſo far to leeward, that in ſix hours they loſt the labour of eight days. Theſe currents run with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and their noiſe is equal to that of a large rapid river among rocks; nor do they run only in one direction, but ſet in many interſected gyrations. For as there are great numbers of iſlands, ſo the current ſets in ſeveral different directions.

The continuance of the danger however abated the general fear. But what chiefly encouraged the men, was, that for three nights ſucceſſively, and while the tempeſts continued, the croſs at the maſt head was illuminated with the fire called St. Elmo, which they all conſtrued as a mark of the divine protection, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the currents, they determined to make a third attempt, in which they ſpent eight days, when their courage began to fail, and obſerving a convenient place in one of the iſlands, they came to an anchor intending to go aſhore. This was now the more neceſſary, as of all the ſhip's company only

five

ſive were able to keep the deck; ſome were attacked by the ſcurvy, others cruelly ſuffered from the violent effects of the ſea-water, and father Ugarte himſelf was not free from the ſcurvy, beſides his other indiſpoſitions. It was certainly by the interpoſition of providence, that they put into this place, a violent tempeſt coming on immediately after, that had not the bilander been ſufficiently ſheltered, and well moored, ſhe would undoubtedly have foundered. In this harbour they continued four days, but father Ugarte's diſorders increaſed ſo upon him, that he determined to go in the boat to the Seris coaſt: and thence if poſſible to proceed by land to Guaymas. But this reſolution cauſed ſuch a general dejection in the ſhip's company, that the father promiſed not to leave them if it coſt him his life. The ſick now began every day to recover; and on Saturday the 18th of Auguſt, a fair wind carried them beyond the third current of Sal-ſi-puedes, which runs towards the coaſt of California. Their joy was increaſed on the Sunday morning by the ſight of three rainbows one above another, in the clouds over the iſland, which they had juſt weathered.

They now cheerfully continued their voyage, thinking all danger was paſt. But a little before they came to the bay of Conception, a ſtorm came on ſo ſuddenly, at N. E. by N. that they had hardly time to furl their topſails, and take in two reefs in the foreſail: at noon it was as dark as midnight, the claps of thunder were aſtoniſhing, the rain poured like a torrent from the clouds, and the ſea broke in a frightful manner. But what increaſed their terror was, that within leſs than half a league they ſaw moving towards them a water ſpout. If ever they fervently implored the protection of our lady and the holy croſs it was now; and father Ugarte himſelf ſays, that amidſt all the various dangers of the voyage, this was the day of the greateſt conſternation. Providence, however, cauſed the wind to ſhift, by which means the clouds diſcharged themſelves on the mountains of California: and the bilander, in the beginning of September, arrived ſafely in Conception bay. From hence they went in boats and mules to ſeek eaſe and refreſhment after ſuch a variety of ſufferings, from the benevolence of father Siſtiaga and his Indians of Mulege. Here the ſick recovered, the few who were in health refreſhed themſelves, and in the middle of September, they all returned to Loretto in the bilander; and there found the pinnace which had happily arrived ſome days before them. The advantages flowing from this ſurvey of the gulf, added a pleaſure to the remembrance of paſt dangers and hardſhips. For it now appeared that there were watering places for ſhips at ſeveral places near the ſhore, and Indians who readily ſhewed them to ſtrangers; while the coaſt of New Spain from Guaymas to the Seris afforded very few, and theſe above a league from the ſhore. From the Seris to the mouth of the river Caborca the ſhore is, for the moſt part, ſteep and without water: from the Caborca to the Colorado, are only three watering places, and little or no paſture ground, the ſhore for many leagues being ſandy and barren, and conſequently deſolate, ſo that not an Indian is to be ſeen. The ſubſequent ſurvey of the coaſt of California by father Conſag, confirms father Ugarte's obſervations. Another and no ſmall advantage was, the obſervation made of the numbers and generoſity of the Cochimies along the coaſt of California above the Indians of the oppoſite ſhore, and even above thoſe of the ſame peninſula. For thoſe who inhabited the Seris and Tepocas, tho' the father went among them, and offered them any ſatisfaction, he could not prevail upon them to aſſiſt him with any thing, tho' they ſaw the ſhip's company were in the greateſt diſtreſs: but when every body was hard at work, they with great compoſure, lay ſluggiſhly on the ground; nor have they during the forty years they have known the fathers, ever ſhewed them the leaſt civility. A very liberal equivalent was offered them for ſome coarſe earthen pots, but they would not part with them on any conſideration. Whereas the northern Californians, on the occaſions before related, and many others, always ſhewed the greateſt candor and courteſy: and tho' they had never known the fahers, nor ſeen any veſſels on their coaſt, they came voluntarily with their little preſents before any thing had been given them. And when they found that their gueſts were not enemies, they with great alacrity aſſiſted them with every thing in their power, and cheerfully lent a hand to eaſe them in their labours. They furniſhed the bilander's people with as many pots as they wanted, without requiring any return, and theſe of as neat workmanſhip as if they had been turned. Father Ugarte endeavoured to ſave ſome, that the other miſſionaries might ſee them. I mention this circumſtance becauſe, as I have obſerved in another place *, it does not appear that the Indians of any other diſtrict of California, had the leaſt notion of turning clay to ſuch uſes. The ſame is confirmed by captain Woods Rogers in his voyage to the South ſea, where he alſo charges the Californians of the ſouth, with the ſame

---

* Part. I. ſect. VI.

cowardice and ſloth, which father Ugarte obſerved in the Seris. But an advantage ſtill greater than the former is, that by this ſurvey, they diſcovered the many groſs errors of the ancient charts, maps, and journals, which placed iſlands, rivers, bays, and harbours, where there are none. And on the contrary, omitted thoſe which are actually to be found on the two coaſts of the gulf of California.

The extract of this voyage, which I have before me, does not enter into the particulars of every circumſtance; for I ſhould have copied theſe with more ſatisfaction, as affording more uſeful knowledge than is to be found in all others of that kind; ſo that I muſt content myſelf with ſaying, that this voyage anſwered its principal intention, which was to aſcertain whether California was an iſland, or a peninſula joined to the continent of New Spain. It now evidently appeared to be a peninſula, ſeparated from Pimeria, only by the river Colorado. The opinion therefore entertained by ſome at Mexico, who aſſerted that the galleons from the Philippine iſlands paſſed through a channel into the gulf of California, in their voyage to New Spain, was entirely groundleſs. It alſo appeared, that if there had been a communication betwixt the gulf and the South ſea, the voyage this way, on account

count of the tempeſtuous weather, the ſhallowneſs *of the water, the narrowneſs of* the channel, the rapidity, and various directions of the currents, would have been abſolutely impracticable to ſuch large ſhips as the Philippine galleons.

Thus the only method of providing a receptacle for theſe ſhips, appeared to be the ſettling a colony and garriſon, at ſome convenient harbour of the ſouth coaſt. And in order to ſecure it from any danger on the land ſide, to extend the miſſions towards the harbour, and by that means reduce the inhabitants of both coaſts of the gulf. We may therefore account for the many unſucceſsful attempts that we have related in the foregoing parts of this work, excluſive of others made at different periods of time with leſs noiſe and expence, but equally unfortunate. About this time alſo, father Tamaral, at different times, ſurveyed great part of the coaſt northward from his miſſion of Puriſſima, and almoſt the whole of it towards Cape San Lucas, the viceroy having, in a very particular manner, directed him to look out for harbours and lands, where colonies and garriſons might be conveniently ſettled; but all proved ineffectual. With the ſame intention father Ugarte, on his arrival at Loretto, ordered preparations to be made for a new attempt, and for making a ſurvey of the ſouth coaſt as far north as poſſible. By his order, the captain of the garriſon went with a party of ſoldiers to the miſſion of Santa Roſalia de Mulege; and from thence, with father Sebaſtian de Siſtiaga, to that of Guadalupe, where father Everard Helen was ſettled. On the 19th of November of the ſame year 1721, they departed from Guadalupe to the coaſt, which they traced beyond the 28th degree of latitude. And tho', in this excurſion, they ſuffered in ſeveral reſpects, they had the ſatiſfaction of finding three ſeveral harbours, with good watering-places, and a ſufficiency of wood, but the ſoil too barren for culture. The largeſt and moſt ſecure harbour, which alſo had the beſt water, was not far from the Indian village of San Miguel, with the miſſion of San Xavier; and from whence the ſhips might be ſupplied with neceſſaries.

With theſe agreeable diſcoveries they returned to Loretto, where father Ugarte drew up a narrative of his voyage, adding the pilot Strafort's map and journal. Father Siſtiaga likewiſe compoſed an account of his diſcoveries, with draughts of the harbours he had met with; all which were ſent to Mexico to be preſented to the viceroy, that he might take what meaſures he ſhould think proper, and tranſmit the ſeveral papers to his majeſty, and the ſupreme council of the Indies. Whether theſe journals, maps, and narratives ever reached Madrid, I cannot pretend to ſay; but this unfortunate truth is well known, that nothing was ordered by either government, in conſequence of them. It is proper alſo to obſerve here, that tho' diligent ſearch was made after theſe papers in Madrid, they could not be found; nor could any entreaty prevail to have them remitted for Mexico. I am ſenſible it would be a great ſatisfaction to the curious reader to find here the whole journal of father Ugarte, and the narrative of the fathers who diſcovered the ſeveral harbours, with a diſtinct account of the latitudes of every headland; the ſituation and views of the iſlands, coaſts, harbours, and bays; their obſervations on the ſhoals, anchoring places, tides, currents, variations of the needle, &c. The charts, at leaſt, drawn in theſe expeditions, are eſſentially neceſſary to form a complete idea of the diſcoveries; and, it may be added, that ſuch maps, when accurate, are the principal advantage of theſe enterprizes. But notwithſtanding all the means of information I enjoy, I find myſelf under a neceſſity of being the firſt, and the moſt intereſted in complaining of this deficiency; but I ſtill comfort myſelf, that

no

no diligence has been wanting to retrieve them; and ſtill hope, that ſome time or other, if what I at preſent offer proves of any utility, and meets with the approbation of the publick, theſe vacuities will be filled up; and his majeſty's ſubjects enjoy all the knowledge of theſe countries, as the intereſts of the kingdom and church require.

SECT. XVI.

The miſſion de Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores del Sur founded by father Guillen, and that of St. Jago de los Coras, by father Napoli.

The care of general enterprizes, undertaken purſuant to the orders of his majeſty, and his miniſters, and for forming others for the advancement of the conqueſt, did not hinder the particular zeal of every miſſionary, in his diſtrict, for promoting religious knowledge and practice among his pariſhioners; for increaſing the number of miſſions, and extending theſe chriſtian ſettlements as far as circumſtances would permit. It was evident from the foundations, the progreſſes and ſurveys, taken northwards by ſea and land, that the northern parts were leſs barren, and abounded more in freſh water, than the ſouthern. It was alſo found, that the nations and people of the north were much more docile; of better intellects; more peaceable and faithful; leſs vicious and petulant; and, conſequently, naturally fitter for the reception of the goſpel, and conforming to its precepts, than thoſe of the ſouth. On the contrary, the miſſion de la Paz had ſent an account, that the whole Pericu nation, with its ſeveral branches of Guaycuros, Uchities, Coras and iſlanders were implacably vindictive, at continual wars, and by treachery, and open violence, conſtantly deſtroying one another; that unleſs they were all univerſally made chriſtians, and brought to a ſolid reconciliation, there could be no ſecurity among them; and that a partial converſion would only increaſe the diſorders. Likewiſe that the other vices of ſloth, ingratitude, and fraud, were arrived at a greater height among this ſouthern people, eſpecially a brutal appetite, being not only permitted, but making a boaſt, and even a profit of polygamy.

But the ſame reaſons which ſeem to entitle the northern people to the preference, rendered it neceſſary to attend firſt to that of the Pericues. For no garriſon being obtained, as had been endeavoured, for la Paz; and the twenty-five ſoldiers at Loretto not being ſufficient for the neceſſary eſcortes, journies, and defence of the countries, ſo diſtant from each other; the whole conqueſt, towards the north, was expoſed, till ſeveral nations of the ſouth ſhould be reconciled and humanized. Beſides, the Uchities, who live betwixt La Paz and Loretto, had inſulted ſome chriſtian Indians on their way, between theſe two places, as if they intended to cut off all communication by land between the two miſſions: the Coras, or thoſe who lived at the extremity of the peninſula, near Cape San Lucas, were every day moleſting their old enemies the Guaycuros of La Paz, and neighbourhood, the inhabitants of the its iſlands of the San Joſeph, Eſpiritu Santo, Ceralvo, and others, betwixt Loretto and La Paz, tho' by father Ugarte reconciled to the Guaycuros, renewed their former depredations in theſe parts; and the quantity of maize, pozoli, knives, and toys at La Paz, were with them incentives to avarice, inſtead of producing moderation and reſpect. Theſe iſlanders had three times pillaged the miſſion of San Juan Baptiſta Ligui, or Malibat, in the abſence of father Guillen the miſſionary, without leaving any thing behind them; and tho' the captain and ſoldiers of the garriſon went in purſuit of them, killed three or four, took fourteen boats, and eleven men, who, after being kindly entertained at Loretto, were ſent back to their iſland, as a teſtimony of friendſhip and kindneſs; yet their pretended reconciliation laſted no longer than their fear, or whilſt this ſuppreſſed their rancour againſt the inhabitants of the ſhore, or were not in want of little utenſils. Thus the only remedy was to enter on a reduction of the Uchities and Coras, who lived on each ſide of La Paz; and gain the affections of the iſlanders. To this great end, in the ſame year 1721, the foundation of two new miſſions was undertaken, at the ſame time that the above ſurveys of the coaſt and gulf were making by land and ſea.

The fund of the miſſion of San Juan Ligui, or Malibat had, as we have already noted, ceaſed by the failure of its endower Don Juan Baptiſta Lopes; and tho' father Guillen and the other miſſionaries were ſupplied for themſelves and their Indians, it was by ſtrict ſavings of the expences, and ſtraitening individuals for the ſake of the general cauſe. Beſides, the village and rancherias of Malibat had been extremely thinned by a dreadful epidemia, and the few Indians, who remained at every abſence of the father, lived in ſuch continual dread of new inroads from the iſlanders, that, for fear, they withdrew from the village. At this time, that religious nobleman the marquis de Villa Puente, endowed two miſſions to be founded between cape San Lucas and Loretto. On which it was reſolved that father Guillen ſhould leave San Juan de Malibat for the viſitation town, and found a new miſſion betwixt the Uchities and Guaycuros, the reduction of whom was of ſuch immediate concern. Accordingly in the year 1721, the father ſettled among them, and immediately laid the foundations of a church, a village, and other buildings neceſſary to a new miſſion. In the month of Auguſt he fixed his reſidence along the ſhore of Apate, 40 leagues from Loretto by ſea, and above 60 by land, on account of the unavoidable circuit of the mountains. The miſſion was dedicated to Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores, with the addition of del Sur, to diſtinguiſh it from another miſſion of that name in the north. The hardſhips which father Guillen underwent in this department, the moſt barren and inconvenient of all California, and the zeal and incredible labour with which he cultivated this vineyard of his maſter, were never exceeded; and the conſequences reſulting from them more uſeful and beneficial than thoſe of any other in California. In the year 1744, at the direction of his ſuperiors, he ſent a ſhort account of the ſtate of his miſſion. It is written with great reſerve and humility; and ſhews at once his virtue, great abilities, and penetrating judgment. This was the thirtieth year of his ſerving as miſſionary in California, where he arrived in the year 1714, after the deplorable ſhipwreck, in which his faithful companion father Guiſi was drowned.

The miſſion of Los Dolores was founded purely for the conveniency of the Indians, but afterwards removed from the ſhore to a place called Tanuetia, 10 leagues from the gulf, and 25 from the South ſea. The father ſought the families of the Indians on both ſides among the caves, woods, and receſſes of thoſe craggy mountains, and aſſembled them into ſix villages, Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores, La Concepcion de Nueſtra Senora, La Incarnation, La Trinidad, La Redemption, and La Reſurrection; which had been inhabited by the Indians of Malibat, before they quitted this part of the country. He likewiſe converted to the faith other Indians, whom he formed into three villages; and of theſe was erected the new miſſion of San Luis Gonzaga, on the endowment of the count de St. Jago, who lived at Mexico; and in the year 1737, a particular miſſionary was appointed for it. Laſtly, he inſtructed and converted all the other heathens of the ſouth coaſt, from the miſſion of San

Xavier to the nation of the Coras. They were all regiſtered as catechumens, and well diſpoſed to be incorporated in another miſſion, which was to be founded that year; and was the more neceſſary from its being impoſſible, conſidering the great diſtances, and the nature of the country, to give proper inſtruction and relief to all. Thus by him alone were brought to chriſtianity, all the inhabitants for above 40 leagues of the peninſula, from the one coaſt to the other; yet in all this tract, the ſoil is ſo rocky and barren, that no place could be found for ſowing any grain, except a little maize at Aparte, barely ſufficient for the Indians there. This ſhews the extreme indigence of the Indians in theſe parts; and likewiſe the inability of the miſſionaries to give them any relief. Yet his labours were ſo ſucceſsful here, that, amidſt all the ſubſequent rebellions of the ſouth, father Guillen's Guaycuros, and Uchities, once ſo turbulent, are now, contrary to the example and ſtrong inſtigation of the Periques and Coras, not only firm in the profeſſion of the faith, but the miſſion de los Dolores del Sur, was the aſylum, where the refugee fathers, and Indians, met with an affectionate reception.

For the reaſons already ſpecified, there was founded, during the ſame year, another miſſion, endowed by the marquis de la Puente, in the nation of the Coras, not far from Cape San Lucas. This the father ſuperior Ugarte was very ſolicitous of eſtabliſhing; and, accordingly, before he undertook to ſurvey the gulf, he had left directions, with every thing neceſſary, that father Ignacio Maria Napoli ſhould go to La Paz, and from thence to the bay of Palmas, the place choſen for the new miſſion. Loretto, at that time, laboured under a great ſcarcity of proviſions; but the bark with the proviſions and ſupplies being ſoon expected from New Spain, father Ugarte impowered the new miſſionary to take what ſhould be ſent for his miſſion of San Xavier, together with whatever elſe he ſtood in need of, and proceed in the bark to his ſtation, carefully conforming to the inſtructions which he had given him with regard to his actions, on all occaſions. The bark arrived in the middle of July; and on the 21ſt of the ſame month, father Rapoli embarking with captain Don Eſtevan Rodrigues, and four ſoldiers, happily arrived at La Paz, on the 2d of Auguſt. At his landing, the Indians of the miſſion received him with great veneration, kiſſing his hand on their knees, and in proceſſion conducted him with the captain and ſoldiers to the church, where father Jayme Bravo was waiting for him. The bark was diſmiſſed for the coaſt of Cinaloa to load maize for Loretto; ſo that to convey the neceſſaries to the bay of Palmas, they were obliged to borrow the boats belonging to general Rezaval's bilander, which was come up the bay to fiſh for pearls. The fathers and ſoldiers went by land, in order to clear a way for La Paz, and invite to the miſſion what Indians they ſhould meet with. Eight days were ſpent in reaching the bay, where they arrived on the 24th of Auguſt; but all the Indians had withdrawn farther up the country, and the rancherias they met with in the way, were all abandoned. The boats with the neceſſaries did not arrive till five days after they came to the bay, which, with the retreat of the Indians, gave father Napoli great uneaſineſs. Beſides, his extreme pains, occaſioned by a violent fall from his mule, when he remained for ſome time ſenſeleſs, and, by his company, was given over for dead.

One evening, as he was walking at ſome diſtance from the tent, to view the ſhore, he ſaw furiouſly running towards him, a company of naked Indians, headed by one, who, beſides his extraordinary ſtature and bulk, was painted all over black and red. He was partly covered with a kind of hair cloak; ſeveral deers feet were hanging about his waiſt; in one hand he held a fan of feathers, and in the other a bow with an arrow on it. The terror of his frightful howlings, accompanied with thoſe of his followers, was increaſed by their threatening geſtures. Father Napoli now thought that his laſt hour was inevitably come; and, lifting up his heart to God, he fervently offered to him the ſacrifice of his life, imploring that his ſins might be forgiven. After this, he boldly advanced towards the Indians, ſuppreſſing as much as poſſible his natural timidity, agreeable to the inſtructions given him of never betraying the leaſt fear. At firſt, having never heard any thing of the dreſs of the Californian ſorcerers, he was ſhocked at his frightful appearance, and even doubted whether it was not the devil himſelf, in a viſible form, leading on the Indians to deſtroy him as the meſſenger of Chriſt. But ſoon recovering from his firſt aſtoniſhment, he approached him with a look of contempt; ſignifying, at the ſame time, by ſigns to the Indians, that he took it ill, they ſhould intend him any harm; and then with the moſt endearing marks of love diſtributed among them ſeveral trifling articles he had about him; inviting them to the camp, where he would give them more. This kindneſs of the father had its deſired effect; they kept him company, till by degrees he brought them to the tent; where, after being liberally treated, ſome proviſions and little utenſils were given them, and others ſent to thoſe who remained in their rancherias, as tokens of peace and friendſhip. The Indians departed highly ſatisfied; but deſired, if they would have them return, to hide the beaſts, and a dog, which, as they had never ſeen before, they were much frightened at. The day following they came in little troops to the number of five hundred, bringing ſuch preſents as the country afforded, which were returned with pozoli, ſackcloth-frocks, razors, and the like, which had been got ready for this purpoſe. It was now five days ſince they had pitched the tent, and without any account of the boat, the loſs of which would have reduced them to the utmoſt extremity. But they had landed four days before, and waited for the reſt of the company, who came by land, in a little lake, a few leagues off, thinking that had been the place appointed for the rendezvous. The firſt account of them was from the Indians; and they being acquainted on what part of the ſhore the father was, the goods were landed, and a ſurvey taken of the country, in order for ſettling the miſſion. Beſides ſeveral thickets of palm-trees, and places over-grown with ſedge, there were near the ſea ſeveral ponds of freſh water, as likewiſe a brook, tho' theſe were by no means convenient watering-places. They likewiſe met with ſome ſpots of ground that promiſed very well for paſture and tillage; yet on account of the nearneſs of La Paz, and the facility of receiving ſupplies, the father determined to found the miſſion at the place where they firſt pitched their tent. Accordingly the ground was cleared, and the little village began to aſſume ſome form; when, on a ſudden, all the Indians diſappeared, and not one was ſeen for a whole day. The father, at a loſs what could occaſion this haſty change, determined, in the evening, to go in queſt of them, with only a ſoldier, and an unſkilful interpreter. He found out ſome, who, on his complaining in an affectionate manner, made no difficulty of acquainting him with the true cauſe of their fear. The Coras were engaged in an inveterate war with the Guaycuros of La Paz; and the father had come with ſoldiers from the territory of the latter, in which there was already a miſſion. The Coras had ſeen a ſurvey taken of the whole country, and walls making for the church; which, tho' only of earth, and ill put together, the Indians concluded were deſigned for ſome fortreſs. Laſtly, the father had brought with him ſome Guaycuros; and three of theſe had, by the father's orders, gone that day along the open road to La Paz, to convoy ſrom thence a mule loaded with maize.

These particulars raiſed a ſuſpicion in the Coras, that the Guaycuros were come to maſſacre all the nation; that this was the end of the taking a view of the country; of their treating them, and deſiring to ſee them every day; that they were building walls for their ſecurity, and that, reckoning themſelves ſure of the ſucceſs of the attempt, they had ſent for all the nation of the Guaycuros to come and join in it; and thus falling on them ſuddenly deſtroy them root and branch. The father took ſuch pains to remove their ſuſpicion and quiet them, that many came with him to the tent and arbour made of palm leaves, where the ſoldiers kept guard. On the other hand the more fearful Indians lighted ſeveral fires, that they might better perceive their enemies, if they ſhould attempt to deſtroy them. The next morning their fears returned a ſecond time, that for two days not one of them was to be ſeen. And now father Bravo who had a tolerable knowledge of the Guyacuri tongue, and could be well underſtood by the Coras, was ſo far from being of any ſervice in this exigency, that he did the greateſt hurt, being looked upon as the father, head, and leader of their enemies. The mule which had been detained with the maize came up; and tho' the Indians at a diſtance ſaw the reality of what father Napoli had told them, they would not return to their dwellings. It was in vain to go after them, as they immediately betook themſelves to flight. At laſt however, men and women with their children returned continually, and even entreated that their children might be baptized like thoſe of La Paz; and that they might be friends for ever. And thus a peace was concluded betwixt the Guaycuros and Coras: which reconciliation was allowed to be celebrated with their uſual feſtivities and dancings. The fourth of September, father Napoli baptized twenty nine children; after which the women were continually coming to him, and begging the like favour for their children. Thus the inhabitants of this country, formerly ſo ſuſpicious, were now never eaſy, but when with the fathers.

Every thing that had been brought, even to the furniture of the altar, had now been diſtributed to the Indians for gaining their affections, ſo that there ſcarce remained a ſufficiency of proviſions for returning to La Paz, to procure a new ſupply. Accordingly, leaving the houſe of palm-trees, and a little furniture in the care of ſome of the eldeſt, with many aſſurances from father Napoli of a ſpeedy return, they ſet out by a new way, in order to make a more accurate ſurvey of the country.

Father Napoli ſtaid two months at the miſſion of La Paz, waiting for proviſions and applying himſelf to the language of the Coras; a taſk of the utmoſt difficulty, tho' abſolutely neceſſary to be performed. Whilſt the fathers were abſent from Palmas bay, forty men from the iſland of Cerralvo, oppoſite to the bay of La Paz, landed; and finding the miſſion without a father or guard, they fell upon a rancheria, killed ſix young children, two women and a man, and took a young man priſoner; after which they pillaged the rancheria of all its ſtores and furniture. Nor had the church and chapel eſcaped, had not the ravagers been afraid that on any longer ſtay, the whole nation of the Guaycures, would be in arms againſt them. However the captain with a party of ſoldiers went in two boats to the iſland of Cerralvo: and tho' the iſlanders retired among the caves and rocks, our men killed two or three of them, which, with the firing of their pieces, proved a terrible warning to them for the future. The captain immediately marched for Loretto, and in November father Napoli returned to Palmas bay; which, however, he did not think fit to make the ſeat of the miſſion, on account of its great diſtance from La Paz, at that time the only place for ſupplies.

Accordingly he made choice of a ſpot of ground called St. Anne, lying up the country thirty leagues from La Paz, and five from the gulf, where he built a chapel and a ſmall houſe; and brought the neareſt rancherias to the belief and regular practice of chriſtianity. In the year 1723, he built a church in a place ſomething farther from the ſea, intending to alter the ſeat of the miſſion; but the whole miſcarried by an incident which it was impoſſible to prevent. The church was now ſo far finiſhed that the beams and rafters were laid for the roof; and whilſt the father was aſſiſting a dying perſon, one of thoſe terrible hurricanes uſual in this country aroſe; at which the Indians fled for ſhelter to the church; but the roof being but imperfectly ſettled, and the walls of themſelves, but weak and not thoroughly dried, the force of the wind blew down the whole building, by which ſome Indians were killed, others maimed, and the living frantick with dread and horror. Father Napoli at the noiſe haſtened to the place, and behaved with all the tenderneſs of an afflicted father: but this accident proved the foundation of a conſpiracy among the relations of thoſe who were killed; and he every day ſaw the beginning and period of ſuch combinations from leſſer motives: but their rage was now wholly bent againſt the father, as the murderer of their friends. They were however ſoon appeaſed, when the ſurvivors informed them that they had retired thither of their own accord, without being bid by any one. However, the church was rebuilt in a more convenient part which afforded water, not only for drinking, but for fertilizing ſome little ſpots for ſowing in the neighbourhood, and was dedicated to St. James the apoſtle. Some ground having been cleared for ſowing maize, it was found to anſwer very well. The like unhappily cannot be ſaid of the ſpiritual ſeed: this giddy, ſlothful, brutiſh people ſhewing a great reluctancy to the pure doctrine of the goſpel: and tho' the father neglected no part of a faithful miniſter, the whole number of thoſe he baptized amounted to no more than ninety adults, and about four hundred children. In the year 1726, father Napoli being appointed for the miſſions on the other ſide; was ſucceeded by father Lorenzo Carranzo, whoſe blood was ſhed in this wilderneſs, over-run with the moſt abominable corruptions; as we ſhall hereafter more particularly relate.

SECT. XVII.

Foundation of the northern miſſion of San Ignacio by father Luyando and its progreſſes. Death of the fathers Piccolo and Ugarte. Inſurrections of the Pericues, and foundation of the miſſion of St. Joſeph at cape San Lucas, by father Tamaral.

Ever ſince the year 1706, it had been greatly deſired that a miſſion ſhould be founded in the N. beyond that of Nueſtra Senora de Guadalupe in the country of Kada-Kaaman, i. e. Sedgebrook, among the Sierra de San Vicente in the latitude of twenty eight degrees, forty leagues S. E. of Santa Roſalia Mulege, and twenty five S. of Guadalupe. The Cochimi Indians of that diſtrict had, with all the ſigns of ſincerity, expreſſed a deſire of becoming chriſtians, on the occaſion of father Piccolo's viſit in the ſame year; but from the want both of inſtructors and funds, together with the immediate neceſſity of reducing the Edues and Pericues in the S. occaſioned the work, however deſirable, to be delayed. The neighbouring miſſionaries, however viſited them occaſionally to cheriſh their good diſpoſitions, till the year 1728. In the preceding year there arrived at Loretto, father Juan Baptiſta Luyando a Mexican Jeſuit of moſt excellent parts and qualities, who not only delivered up his fortune into the hands of his ſuperiors, for the foundation of a miſſion in California, but alſo offered in perſon to be himſelf the founder. Accordingly, in January 1728, he ſet out from Loretto, accompanied by nine ſoldiers, and on the 20th of the ſame month, came to the place which had been marked out for the ſeat of this miſſion, by father Siſtiaga, of Santa Roſalia Mulege, who for ſome months before had viſited the Indians to acquaint them with the deſign, and prepare their minds for giving the father a favourable reception. Accordingly, father Luyando was received by the natives with all the appearance of ſatisfaction, and in a few days he found about him five hundred perſons from ſeveral rancherias. He now entered on his office, which was the eaſier, as ſome were already acquainted with their catechiſm, and moſt had heard father Siſtiaga. And they applied themſelves with ſuch aſſiduity, to imbibe his inſtructions in the doctrinal and practical parts of the chriſtian religion, that in a little time he had the pleaſure of perceiving from the ſtability of their good diſpoſitions, that he might ſafely adminiſter baptiſm to the adults, eſpecially as they readily complied with the preliminary of breaking and burning all the ſuperſtitious implements of their ſorcerers. For above ſix months the father was enabled to ſupport near five hundred catechumens: for tho' ſome after baptiſm returned to their rancherias, they were abundantly replaced, that he began to be under apprehenſions of the proviſions failing; therefore that nothing might be wanting in him towards the completion of a work ſo happily begun, he diſmiſſed ſeven ſoldiers with letters, earneſtly requeſting a ſpeedy ſupply from Loretto, and thus remained with only two guards. It muſt be ſaid to the praiſe of the ſoldiers, that ſeeing the father ſo taken up in the immediate functions of his office, and with ſo much ſucceſs, they voluntarily took upon themſelves the labour of building a church and a houſe, which, by the help of the Indians who readily lent a hand to whatever they were directed, the church was nearly finiſhed before the ſoldiers ſet out on their return, and the dedication of it performed on Chriſtmas day that year.

As these ſucceſſes filled the miſſionary's heart with joy, ſo they animated him readily to take under his inſtruction, all who came to the ſeat of the miſſion, and likewiſe to make excurſions on all quarters in ſearch of new Indians.

He was particularly ſent for once a great way off, by one who had been bit by a viper: and tho' both the ſoldier and the ſervant who underſtood the language were abſent, he ventured himſelf with only one of the natives, who had been already baptized. On his arrival at the place, he found a large rancheria of ſavages, who had never ſo much as ſeen an European or a horſe: accordingly they were at firſt greatly terrified, but the preſents the father brought with him and his graceful carriage, ſoon removed their fears: and they all came about him offering him all they had.

This docility of the Cochimes, together with the vivacity, genius, and activity of body, in which they ſurpaſs all the other nations, enabled the miſſionary to make great improvements in their country. This diſtrict is very proper for agriculture, both on account of the ſoftneſs of the earth, and the eaſineſs of procuring water, ſo that a large colony might eaſily ſubſiſt there; and the Indians be no longer under a neceſſity of roving among the woods and mountains for ſupport. Father Siſtiaga had before ſown maize and wheat, which in the firſt year yielded together a hundred buſhels: but in the fourth and laſt year of father Luyando, the harveſt, every ſort of grain included, amounted to a thouſand buſhels. The conſequence of this, was a more eaſy and plentiful ſupply to the Indians, who, being leſs brutiſh than their neighbours, willingly aſſiſted in the labour, which they ſaw was entirely for their benefit. Father Helen, at another entrance, had already taught them to cultivate ſeveral ſorts of garden vegetables, which he himſelf had planted: and father Luyando laid out a ſpot of ground for a garden, where exotick plants, in that barren land throve very well, and others which were natives of it improved under his culture. He likewiſe planted five hundred vines, together with olive-trees, fig-trees, and ſugar-canes, which have ſince proved of great advantage to a miſſion ſo remote, and not a little contributed to the extraordinary increaſe of it, and the improvement of real chriſtianity among the Indians. The father was now deſirous of aſſembling the Indians in villages, built in the moſt convenient place for the neighbouring rancherias, with a chapel in each, that they might there daily perform their devotions. He likewiſe taught them to make little houſes of adobes and boughs of trees, tho' being always uſed to the open air, it was with great difficulty they could be reconciled to live in them. In the parts fit for paſtures, he likewiſe endeavoured to breed great and ſmall cattle for the uſe of the miſſion.

Thus every thing wore a very pleaſing aſpect; but the great enemy to the peace and happineſs of mankind, inſtigated the Indians to oppoſe the tranquility of the miſſion, and render all the pains of the father abortive. Accordingly, eight of theſe ſavages taking advantage of a dark night murdered a catechumen near the father's cottage, probably becauſe the miſſionary ſhewed a great regard to him for his amiable diſpoſitions. It was neceſſary however not to take notice of this barbarous act, leſt greater miſchief ſhould enſue; but it did not eſcape the divine vengeance, all the eight miſerably dying in the epidemia of the following year 1729. Another rancheria obſtinately refuſed to come to the miſſion; and on the baptiſm of the three firſt adults, ſought for them in order to deſtroy them, which they would certainly have effected, had not they taken refuge in the father's houſe: two years they perſiſted in this ſtubborn humour, till their depravity was overcome by the patience, gentleneſs, and liberality of the father: but it was not till ſeven years after, that thoſe advanced in years embraced the chriſtian religion. The old men indeed, in every rancheria expreſſed the greateſt acrimony againſt chriſtianity: and as theſe were generally the ſorcerers, prieſts, and teachers, or rather deceivers of the rancherias,

rias, it is no wonder that they ſhould oppoſe the progreſs of chriſtianity, which put a period to all their profits and power: their lives alſo were profligate; their brutiſh cuſtoms and ſavage manner of living had taken deeper root in them; their attendance at church and devout exerciſes, was a more painful conſtraint on them; and having been the reſpected teachers of the nation, they could not prevail on themſelves to be ſcholars to ſtrangers, or ſtand among boys, and even be ridiculed by them for their abſurd doctrines.

Amidſt theſe various tranſactions, the miſſion went on very proſperouſly, which was in a great meaſure owing to the docility and candour of theſe Indians, who uſed frankly to acquaint father Luyando with whatever they ſaw amiſs in their countrymen: ſo that he eaſily prevailed upon them, in order to facilitate his viſiting them in the rancherias, and afterwards in the villages which were building, to clear ways for them to the ſeat of the miſſion: and for their encouragement, he propoſed rewards which he beſtowed on thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the work.

Some wild Indians of the N. inſtigated by malice, at the flouriſhing ſtate of the miſſion, and the tranquility enjoyed by the converted tribe, fell upon a chriſtian rancheria, killing two Indians.

dians, and a little girl, all the others having fled to the ſeat of the miſſion. The chriſtians of the other rancherias were for taking arms againſt the invaders, but the father fearing it might kindle a perpetual war, entreated them to forbear, and patiently forgive injuries as became chriſtians. He flattered himſelf that this tranquility and forbearance would have a good effect on the enemy, and induce them by degrees to receive the goſpel; to forward which, he ſent them ſome meſſages and preſents: but experience ſhewed his miſtake; and that theſe barbarians are firſt to be quelled by force, as they afterwards readily believe that whatever kindneſs is done them, proceeds from love: whereas, otherwiſe they attribute it to weakneſs and cowardice; mildneſs and preſents only increaſing their inſolence. Accordingly the invaders from the mild meſſages and preſents, concluded the father and his Indians were in a terrible conſternation: and this animated them to attack other rancherias; plundering where-ever they came, killing or driving the chriſtians before them, and threatening the ſeat of the miſſion. As the father had only two ſoldiers with him and the Indians were terrified and unarmed, he judged it adviſable to withdraw to the miſſion of Guadalupe, where father Siſtiaga officiated. From hence both the fathers returned to San Ignacio, where it was reſolved vigorouſly to march againſt the enemy, without waiting for ſoldiers from Loretto, which was ſeventy leagues diſtant. Accordingly, the chriſtian rancherias were ſummoned; and arms given them, with great noiſe and hurry both to raiſe the ſpirits of the chriſtians, and intimidate the ſavages, by the great and tumultuous preparatives for war, according to the ancient cuſtom of California: ſome made bows; others were ſharpening pieces of ſtone for the arrows; ſome went to cut wood for ſpears, which till then had not been known in this country, and at the ends of which the ſoldiers fixed large knives, that had been brought to diſtribute among the miſſions. The very women made bags and nets for carrying the proviſions, roaſted maize, and baked biſket. The preparations being finiſhed, the people were reviewed and found to be above ſeven hundred men fit for action: but there not being proviſions for ſuch a number, thoſe of weak conſtitutions were diſcharged, ſo that only three hundred and fifty ſtout men remained for the expedition. But theſe were of different rancherias, and the cuſtom was for every one to chuſe their captain, which, at preſent, would have given riſe to fatal confuſion. The fathers therefore acquainted them, that it was proper for all to be under one command: that therefore two captains ſhould be appointed; one by them, and the other by the fathers; both of their nation, men of courage and conduct and well acquainted with the country. Accordingly, they choſe one among them of great reputation: and the perſon appointed by the fathers, was the governor of the village that year, a young man of good parts and faithful, who had been brought up at Loretto, whither father Ugarte carried him when a child at the time of cutting the timber for the bilander. The whole army thus equiped, marched in queſt of the enemy, and the ſcouts ſoon brought advice that they waited for them by a watering place near the ſkirts of the mountains. On this advice it was determined to attack them during the night. Accordingly they marched up to them, and ſurrounded them on all ſides; after which they gradually approached them with the greateſt ſilence, leſt they ſhould give them any alarm. At ſun-riſe the Indians, who on all ſides had hem'd in their enemies, ſet up a dreadful ſhout of war, which awaked the ſavages, who were ſleeping without any apprehenſion of danger. At this ſhout they ſtarted on their feet, ſought confuſedly about for their arms, while the other advanced on all ſides in good order; ſo that the enemy, finding themſelves ſurrounded by a ſuperior force, and their retreat cut off, laid down their arms as a ſign of ſubmiſſion. Two only found means to eſcape; and giving advice of the defeat to a few of another rancheria, they precipitately fled to their own country, ſo that the remainder, to the number of thirty four, were eaſily made priſoners: and after the country had been reconnoitred to know if it was clear of the enemies, our people returned to San Ignacio, which they entered with their priſoners in a kind of triumph. The fathers led the victorious army to the church, where thanks were returned for this victory gained without ſhedding any blood, or even diſcharging a ſingle arrow. The men alſo were entertained, and next day all the people were aſſembled: and the ſoldiers and governors ſitting as judges, the priſoners were brought to tryal; where, being convicted of rebellion, robberies, and murders, they were ſentenced to be removed to Loretto as guilty of capital crimes. Sentence being paſſed, they were remanded to priſon very much dejected, whilſt many of the new chriſtians danced for joy, thinking they ſhould now have the pleaſure of killing their enemies and revenging themſelves. But the fathers came up, and aſſured the captives that they ſhould not die; made them ſome preſents, and mildly reproved the exultations of the others; taking occaſion to inſtruct them in the duties of charity, and chriſtian compaſſion, forgiveneſs and living peaceably with all men. The next day the court ſat again at the requeſt of the fathers, who brought with them many Indians to deſire the ſoldiers that they would ſoften their ſentence without inflicting death, or ſending the priſoners to Loretto. Accordingly each was to receive a certain number of laſhes. The execution began with the principal murderer: but the fathers again interceded that the puniſhment ſhould be limited to him, and the reſt pardon'd, which was complied with; and the priſoners being deprived of their arms, which were diſtributed among the leading men of the forces, as monuments of the victory, were diſcharged. This extraordinary lenity had a very good effect among the ſavages: the chriſtians being inſtructed, and the gentiles filled with affection for the fathers and their law, which enjoined ſuch mild treatment. They were detained ſome days, but at full liberty that they might ſee the good behaviour and conformable way of living of the Indians of the miſſion. They begged of the fathers that they would baptize them and their ſons, but it was thought proper to refuſe them, both to augment their deſire and to try their ſincerity. They were diſmiſſed with great affection: but they ſoon returned, requeſting that at leaſt their children might be baptized, as otherwiſe they ſhould think that the fathers did not love them; and that the chriſtians intended to carry on a ſecond war. In this they were gratify'd, except a ſon of the principal murderer, or head of the conſpiracy, who, like the reſt, went away very diſconſolate. But returning a ſecond time with his little ſon in his arms, begging with tears, that he might be baptized if they killed him; accordingly the child was baptized, and he chearfully went away to rejoin his countrymen. A few months after, all the former priſoners, with their relations and families, and even decrepit old men, came to be inſtructed in order to baptiſm; which, at a proper time, was adminiſtered to all.

This victory was of great ſervice to the cauſe of chriſtianity, by intimidating the gentiles and recommending the law which the ſtrangers preached, to their favourable receptions, ſo that a free paſſage was now opened towards the nations of the North. But father Luyando's health was ſo impair'd by fatigues, that he was obliged to quit the miſſion which he had founded with his fortune, and improved by his zeal and abilities. He was ſucceeded by father Siſtiaga the indefatigable miſſionary of Santa Roſalia Mulege.

At the ſame time California loſt two of its moſt ancient labourers: the firſt was father Franciſco Maria Piccolo, who, full of days, ended his labours in the royal garriſon of Loretto, on the 22d of February 1729, in the 79th year of his age; and the 32d from his coming to California. In the following year 1730, at the village of San Pablo belonging to the miſſion of San Xavier, father Juan Ugarte quietly breathed his laſt in his 70th year, after having ſerved 30 as a miſſionary in California.

In the mean time the ſouthern nations were every day ſhewing thoſe turbulent, lawleſs, and treacherous diſpoſitions, of which, from the beginning they had given too many proofs. And notwithſtanding father Guillen at Dolores, Father Bravo at La Paz, and father Napoli at San Jago; and ſince them their ſucceſſors, had civilized many of the Uchiti, Guaycuros, and the Coras; and brought them within the pale of the church; yet even in thoſe and the adjacent nations, great numbers of gentiles remained, who were conſtantly inſulting the chriſtians; many of whom, were daily leſs fond of the rational and orderly life to which they were now brought, and even making no ſecret of their diſguſt; fomenting ſeditions and infecting thoſe who remained quiet in the faith. In the year 1723, all the three miſſions being recently founded, the captain of the garriſon with ſome ſoldiers made a progreſs about the country to terrify thoſe who moleſted their neighbours. The Coras of cape San Lucas very earneſtly deſired that the father might be ſent to make them chriſtians; but others who had already embraced the faith, gave him ſufficient trouble, and a gentile accidentally wounded him in the ſhoulder with an arrow. Yet he bravely concealed it for two months, whilſt he was under cure at La Paz, that the accident was not to be ſo much as known to the faithful Indians of Loretto, with whom however it was proper to uſe ſuch precautions.

In the year 1725, the captain was obliged a ſecond time to march with an armed force to ſome rancherias of Uchities and Guaycuros, who were withdrawn towards the oppoſite coaſt, but without killing a man. Theſe and ſome Coras had in the year 1719, renewed their outrages, chiefly at the inſtigation of ſome Mulattoes and Meſtizos left on thoſe coaſts by foreign privateers, who happened to touch there. Theſe were the leaven which corrupted the ſimplicity of thoſe Indians, of themſelves too ſuſceptible of bad impreſſions. For as captain don Eſtevan Rodrigues obſerves in his journal, "the natives here are ſo naturally uneaſy, turbulent, and factious, that unleſs a party of the garriſon goes every year to ſuppreſs their commotions and check their inſolence, there would be no living in ſafety." The captain was employed in this ſurvey from March to September of that year, when ſome rancherias of cape San Lucas again urged them to ſend them fathers. But they were now obliged to have recourſe to ſome ſlight puniſhment. The good diſpoſitions of ſome for receiving the faith; the continual dread of invaſions from others; and of the deſertion of new converts, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to haſten the foundation of other miſſions among the Pericues, in order to ſecure the reduction of the peninſula as far as the cape above mentioned.

This total converſion of the Indians, the marquis de Villa Puente, a moſt munificent benefactor to theſe miſſions, had very much at heart; he made an offer of eſtabliſhing one in the neighbourhood of cape San Lucas, and, animated by his example, his couſin donna Roſa de la Penna, ſiſter to the marchioneſs of Villa Puente, a lady of eminent virtues, and exemplary charity, to endow another intended to be founded in Las Palmas bay, the original ſituation of the miſſion of San Jago de los Coras, ſince removed to ſuch a diſtance, that the miſſionary could by no means attend the neceſſities and inſtruction of theſe Indians; and their indocility and turbulency rendered it ſtill more difficult and diſcouraging.

The agent for California at Mexico was father Joſeph de Echeveria, who, on the loſs of the bark in 1729 with all the proviſions, the people with great difficulty ſaving themſelves in a boat, went over to Cinaloa to purchaſe another veſſel, and make preparations for a freſh ſupply. In this he was engaged when the father general Tamburini's nomination of him for viſitor general of all the miſſions of the Jeſuits arrived from Rome. On receipt of this order, he prepared to begin his viſitation with thoſe of California, whoſe agent he had been for ſeveral years: and purpoſing to accompliſh the foundation of the two new miſſions in the South, for which the endowments had been already offered, he embarked at Ahome in the Triumph of the Croſs, which, on the ninth day being the 27th of October, happily landed him in San Dionyſio or Loretto bay.

A few days after his arrival, he was ſeized with a malignant fever, ſo that his life was deſpaired of; but providence was pleaſed to reſtore his health; he did not however ſtay till it was confirmed, but left Loretto to proceed on his viſitation of the northern miſſions, having with him only the enſign, a ſoldier named Acoſta, and a few Indians. The good father's heart overflowed with joy at ſeeing the œconomy of the miſſions, the knowledge, devotion, and regular behaviour of the Indians, the zeal and charity of the miſſionaries, their labours and patience in forming and attending on their pariſhioners, under all the inconveniencies and hardſhips of that wild ſolitude; and laſtly the great progreſs chriſtianity had made in ſo ſhort a time. In a letter dated the 10th of February 1730, he has theſe expreſſions. "The fever having by the goodneſs of God left me, I ſet out to viſit the miſſions, beginning with San Xavier to San Ignacio del Norte, which is the laſt, and from hence about eighty leagues. The whole journey took me up forty eight days, the cold being ſeverer here than at Guapango in January. But I was well rewarded for all theſe fatigues, were it only in ſeeing the fervour of theſe new chriſtian eſtabliſhments. And the leaſt I could do was to ſhed tears of joy at ſo frequently hearing God praiſed from the mouths of poor creatures, who very lately did not ſo much as know whether there was any ſuch Being." In the ſame letter he gives a detail of the particulars he obſerved in every miſſion; their polity and the fatigues of the fathers.

Father Echeveria now prepared for viſiting the ſouthern parts of California, where he was deſirous of founding two new miſſions among the Coras; but only that of San Joſeph del Cabo could then take place. Father Sigiſmund Taraval appointed miſſionary for the other, which had been projected under the name of Santa Roſa, in honour of the foundreſs not arriving till May 1730: beſides the deaths of the fathers Piccoli and Ugarte; and the retreat of fathers Helen, Bravo & Napoli, occaſioned by the ill ſtate of their health, rendered it neceſſary to employ the new labourers in ſuch ſettlements as were deſtitute.

The intended miſſion, near cape San Lucas, required a perſon of conſummate virtue, intrepid zeal, great ſagacity, and addreſs: ſuch was father Nicholas Tamaral, founder of the miſſion of La Puriſſima Conception; and he fortunately was appointed for founding that of San Joſeph del Cabo. According he embarked the 10th of March, with the father viſitor, leaving directions that father Taraval, on his arrival, ſhould immediately go and officiate at La Puriſſima; and, having a fair wind, in nine days, they arrived in the bay of La Paz, where they were received with the moſt cordial affection by father William Gordon, ſucceſſor to father Bravo, at El Pilar de la

Paz; and with him they ſolemnly celebrated the feſtival of the patriarch San Joſeph.

The tranquility and chriſtian deportment of the Guaycuros of this miſſion, before ſo much dreaded, filled the fathers with the moſt pleaſing ſatisfaction. They next viſited the miſſion of San Jago de los Coras, and from thence continued their journey to cape San Lucas, the ſouthern extremity of California, in the neighbourhood of which they intended to found the new miſſion of San Joſeph. At ſome diſtance from the cape, they found a verdant ſpot, ſhaded by the circumjacent mountains, and thro' it ran two rivulets, which joined each other a little before they diſcharged themſelves into the ſea, which is about a league from the ſpot abovementioned; and on the ſhore were ſeveral lakes, abounding with fiſh, and ſurrounded with withered ſtocks of palm-trees, the Indians having lopped off their branches. Near one of theſe freſh-water lakes, in a level ſpot, a good ſoil, and defended from inundations, the fathers appointed for the ſeat of the miſſion; and accordingly a chapel and houſe, covered with ruſhes and ſedge, of which the coaſt afforded great plenty, were ſoon run up. The fathers, from the account given by the captain of the garriſon of the numbers, and repeated deſires of the Indians of having a father among them, expected that they would have flocked to them, but very few were ſeen; and, during the three weeks that the father viſitor continued there, ſcarce twenty families came into the miſſion. With theſe, however, father Tamaral entered on his charge, inſtructing them in the doctrines of the chriſtian religion. The Indians, on being aſked whither the reſt of their countrymen were retired, anſwered they all had died of an epidemia: but this was an equivocation, proceeding from their fear, for as ſoon as the father viſitor, with his two ſoldiers attending him, were gone, and father Tamaral left with only two others, the Indians repaired to him by multitudes; and the reaſon for their not appearing ſooner, was a perſuaſion, that the fathers were come with ſoldiers and armed men, to puniſh ſome diſturbances and aſſaults on the miſſions of San Jago, and La Paz. Matters being thus accommodated, the father took a journey thro' the country, in ſearch of the rancherias, and a more convenient ſpot for the ſeat of the miſſion; the firſt ſituation being infeſted with muſkettos, and other troubleſome inſects, to an intolerable degree; it was alſo cloſe and hot; the country damp, and water for the little arable ground very uncertain. Theſe circumſtances were ſufficient to prevail on them to remove the miſſion to another ſpot, 5 leagues from the ſea, where a church and houſe were immediately built, as well as circumſtances would permit; and afterwards, by inceſſant labours, ſeveral roving rancherias were aſſembled and diſtributed into two villages; where they were inſtructed with ſuch ſucceſs, that in one year only he baptized a thouſand and thirty-ſix ſouls. He likewiſe attended to promote the temporal welfare of the miſſion, as being in ſome meaſure the foundation of its progreſs and ſecurity; but the death of this miſſionary has deprived us of the particular accounts of the following years.

SECT. XVIII.

Survey of the iſlands of Dolores, by father Taraval. Account of others formed by the channel of Santa Barbara, in the South ſea. Foundation of the miſſion of Santa Roſa, by that father. Inſurrection of the Coras, for want of a garriſon.

Two months after the fathers Echeveria and Tamaral had ſet out on the preceding expedition, father Sigiſmund Taraval, nominated for founding, among the Coras, the propoſed miſſion of Santa Roſa, arrived in Loretto bay in May 1730. This father was poſſeſſed of all the qualifications requiſite for an enterpriſe of ſuch difficulty. He was only in the 30th year of his age; but his mind was adorned with all the ſciences and learning, requiſite to the diſcharge of his function. He was born at Todi, in the Milaneſe, being the ſon of don Miguel de Taraval by donna Tereſa de Andrade. His father had ſerved with the greateſt reputation in the army, where he died of his wounds, in quality of lieutenant general, to which his merit had raiſed him. His ſon, at eighteen years of age, took the habit of the order in the college of Ocana, where he was a boarder. He went thro' his noviciate at Madrid, and having afterwards happily diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſublimer ſciences, in the college of Alcala de Henarez, under father Alexandro Laguna, he was ſent to finiſh his ſtudies at Mexico, where his diſtinguiſhed talents procured him to be appointed founder of a new miſſion in California. The father provincial Juan Antonio de Oviedo alſo recommended to him the collecting of materials, for a hiſtory of the whole miſſion, from its beginning; and to his attention and judgment, moſt of the particulars in this narrative are owing.

This year the miſſion of Santa Roſa could not well be undertaken. Father Taraval, according to the orders left at Loretto, by the father viſitor Echeveria, going to the miſſion of La Puriſſima to officiate, during the abſence of father Taramal, who undertook to ſurvey the iſlands lying near the coaſt.

He ſet out, accompanied with ſome Indians, on the feſtival of San Xavier, and after travelling ſix days came to a point of land, or cape on the coaſt of Anawa, where a vaſt bay, many leagues in breadth, begins, and to which he gave the name of San Xavier. From this place they diſcerned two iſlands, ſix or ſeven leagues from the coaſt; and having made a raft of timber, which they formed near the ſhore, they went over to the firſt iſland, by the natives called Afegua, i. e. the bird iſland. This is very ſmall; not above hal a mile in length, and leſs in breadth, without a ſingle inhabitant, being abſolutely deſtitute both of verdure and freſh water. Prodigious flight of birds frequent it, and from thence it derives its name. Among theſe, beſides the known ſpecies, are two remarkable; one ſomething bigger than a ſparrow, but quite black; they live all day in the ſea, and at night repair to the land, where they have neſts, which they make, by digging burrows in the ground, like rabbits; but being only four feet deep, they are eaſily caught. The other is of the bigneſs of a gooſe, with black wings, a white breaſt and claws, and a beak reſembling thoſe of the birds of prey. Theſe, like the former, make their neſts in the ground, but three or four yards below the ſurface, and never viſit them but in a calm, living day and night in the ſea, while the rough weather laſts. The Indians of the coaſt, and thoſe of the neighbouring iſlands, often come hither to catch theſe birds.

The other iſland, in the country language, is called Amalgua, i. e. fog iſland: and lies about 4 or 5 leagues from the former. They walked over this iſland alſo; and found it to be nearly triangular: the diſtance from the weſtern to the northern point, is two days journey, and one a-croſs it, in the narroweſt part. In the middle of it is a conical mountain, of a conſiderable height; it has freſh water-ſprings; and in three little bays are ſeveral pits, dug by the Indians; but the anchoring-places are narrow, and without any ſhelter from the ſea, which on theſe coaſts runs very high. It alſo affords ſome deer, tho' ſmaller than thoſe of California, but the hair longer and cloſer: likewiſe rabbits; and among theſe a black kind, very ſmall, but their fur ſofter than that of a beaver, numbers of which are found here, and, many of them killed by the Indians. This iſland is alſo much frequented by ſea-wolves, of different kinds; likewiſe a great variety of birds. On theſe the Indians live; and, inſtead of bread, they uſe the meſcales, which are here much more juicy than the manſos of California. Along the ſhore are found, among other ſhells, ſome of the azure kind, of a moſt exquiſite beauty. In this ſea likewiſe are ſeen whales, which the Indians often kill with harpoons.

From the high mountain in the iſland, you have a view of two other ſmall iſlands lying to the weſtward, at the diſtance of 8 or 10 leagues. There are alſo in the large bay of San Xavier, three other ſmall iſlands, the haunts only of ſea-wolves and beavers. To all theſe iſlands, the father gave the name of Los Dolores. Further to the northward, they ſaw other large iſlands, which appear to be three days ſailing beyond the bay. It was believed, that thoſe were the iſlands which formed the channel of Santa Barbara, and that the firſt of them was ſurveyed by captain Viſcaino, and called Santa Catalina; but theſe iſlands lay at ſuch a diſtance, that it was impoſſible to count their number, or deſcribe their ſituation.

The inhabitants of Amalgua know nothing of theſe iſlands, the old ſorcerers ſtrictly prohibiting, not only an intercourſe with their inhabitants, but even their looking towards them. The few inhabitants they found, were eaſily perſuaded to come to San Ignacio, in order to be inſtructed in the chriſtian religion. The only one that oppoſed it was a ſorcerer; and they were for leaving him alone on the iſland, his very wife intending to go with the reſt. But ſeeing them all preparing to depart, his obſtinacy abated, and he at laſt conſented to make one of the company. Foul weather obliged them to put in at the deſert iſland of Aſegua, where they were obliged to ſtay ſeveral days; but on the return of fair weather, they made for the continent, meeting only with one misfortune, which happened in the following manner. As they were coaſting along the ſhore, they ſaw on the ſand banks, a great number of ſea-wolves; and the Indian ſorcerer, who was continually betraying his diſcontent, relying on his dexterity, leaped into the water, and ſwam towards the banks, in order to kill a wolf, but they all retired at his approach. The Indian, on this, endeavoured to return to the bark, but as he was ſwimming back, a ſhark, in ſight of the whole company, ſeized him: however, by an extraordinary activity, natural to theſe people, he cleared himſelf, tho' wounded, and threw blood at the ſhark, by way of ſport; but the voracious fiſh ſeized him a ſecond time, with inſuperable violence, and at once darted down with him to the bottom; his companions, tho' very much affected, not being able to help him.

No mention is made of theſe ſmall iſlands, comprehended under the new name of Los Dolores, in the narrative of capt. Sebaſtian Viſcaino's voyage; either becauſe his ſquadron had no ſight of them, poſſibly, paſſing by them in the night; or, in his courſe from the harbour of San Diego, to the new bay, lately called San Xavier, he kept at too great a diſtance from the coaſt. Oppoſite to this bay, the captain, in his paſſage to Puerto de Monte Rey, had a view of the iſland, which he called Santa Cathalina; and the others which formed the channel of Santa Barbara. Of theſe iſlands, all the account and information which father Taraval could get, was only a diſtant view, which he took of it from the mountain in the iſland of Amalgua. For neither its inhabitants, nor thoſe of cape San Xavier, have any intercourſe with the inhabitants of this iſland, nor with thoſe of the continent, on the other ſide of the bay. We have already ſeen, part I. ſect. VII. how different father Taraval's accounts of the belief, religion, and rites of the iſlanders of Amalgua, are from thoſe in captain Viſcaino's relation, in the ſame particulars, among the iſlanders of Santa Cathalina.

It would indeed be very proper to take a more accurate ſurvey of thoſe iſlands, which were ſeen by captain Viſcaino, and likewiſe of the coaſts of the continent, as far as the Sierra de Santa Lucia, which the Philippine ſhips have ſight of; for he found the people very tractable, tho he was not able to ſtay with them. But however deſirable ſuch a ſurvey may be, it has hitherto been found impoſſible to be taken, on account of the great diſtance betwixt the miſſion of San Ignacio, and the channel of Santa Barbara.

The time was now arrived for father Taraval, by order of father Clement Guillen, the new viſitor, to found the miſſion of Santa Roſa, his firſt deſtination in the bay of Palmas, near the cape of California; and like the miſſion of San Joſeph of cape San Lucas, inhabited by the Coras. This miſſion was neceſſary as the Coras of thoſe parts could not be ſuperintended from the miſſion of San Jago tho' the neareſt, both as the greateſt part of this miſſion were Guaycuros, but chiefly as the ſavage, turbulent, and deceitful humour of theſe Indians required a greater number of miſſionaries; and their continual preſence at their reſidences, in order to ſecure the reduction of them, and prevent rebellions: for which however ſuch prudent meaſures did not prove ſufficient. Accordingly, every thing neceſſary for the new foundation being provided at Loretto, father Sigiſmund went to the bay of La Paz; and thence to the miſſion of St. Jago at Palmas bay; near which his new miſſion was begun on the ſpot, where, ſome years before, father Napoli had laid the foundation of that of St. Jago. The Indians of this coaſt he found civilized beyond expectation, which was partly owing to the diligence of father Napoli, and partly to ſome viſits which the fathers Carranco and Tamaral had paid them from their miſſions. But ſome of the Indians who were wedded to their beaſtly manner of living, made ſuch oppoſitions to his meaſures, that it would have been highly imprudent to have diſmiſſed the three ſoldiers that attended him. His aſſiduity and addreſs were however ſo remarkable, that before the concluſion of the year, he had baptized the greater part of the gentiles within his diſtrict, of every age: and to their affection and fidelity he owed his life in the general revolt of the nation. There had appeared ſome intimations of this revolt in the two miſſions of St. Jago and San Joſeph, in the ſame year 1733, and beginning of 1734. The Indian governor of San Jago, by the Indians called Boton, who had been promoted to that poſt, becauſe of his intereſt with his countrymen, on account of his ſuperior capacity, and as born of a Mulatto and an Indian.

It was alſo thought that by laying an obligation on him to behave as became a chriſtian, he would abhor his way of living; but in this they were miſtaken, for he returned to his former exceſſes; and as private exhortations were of no conſequence, it was neceſſary to give him a publick reprimand. This alſo had no effect; ſo that father Carranco thought it neceſſary to depoſe him and chaſtiſe him publickly. This inſtead of bringing him to a ſenſe of his guilt, filled him with ſuch rancour, that he frequently attempted to ſpirit up the new chriſtians to kill the father; and being joined by ſome diſcontented Indians, he would certainly have ſucceeded, had not the father, on timely advice of his intention, been on his guard. This ſeduction, however threw the whole miſſion into a flame. And the ceſſation of theſe diſturbances was principally owing to his departure to the rancherias of San Joſeph del Cabo, which were ſtill gentiles: the chief of one of theſe was a Mulatto named Chicori; who lived in an abandoned manner, with a great number of wives. Among theſe was a young woman, who, on coming to the miſſion, was inſtructed by father Tamaral: and after ſhe became a chriſtian, was robbed, and forcibly carried away by the Mulatto to Yeneca, the name of the rancheria, But the father to avoid ſtill greater evils, winked at this enormity for ſome time; but having at laſt an opportunity of going to Yeneca, he mildly complained to the Mulatto of the robbery. The other haughtily anſwered that ſhe was his wife, and therefore he had a right to bring her away: the father replied that if ſhe had been his only one he would not have detained her in the miſſion, nor proceeded to baptize her ſo ſoon; but that having many others, it was unjuſt to force the young woman back. He proceeded to exhort him alſo to become a chriſtian, and painted the turpitude of that ſloth and debauchery in which he lived, in the moſt glaring colours. In ſhort the father tried every method to induce him to embrace the chriſtian faith; but the Indian grew more obdurate; and fearing to be forſaken by others of his wives, he determined to murder the father the firſt opportunity, and ſtir up the Californians to deſtroy all miſſionaries.

Such were the ſentiments of the Mulatto Chicori, when the perverſe Boton, with no better deſign, came to his rancheria, having left the Indians of the miſſion of San Jago in a great ferment, The plots of both being unknown to the miſſionaries, father Tamaral came without the leaſt apprehenſion from cape San

Lucas to aſſiſt father Carranco in quieting the diſturbances of the miſſion, which, by the abſence of the incendiary Boton, was not attended with any great difficulty; ſo that by the good management and prudent conduct of the two fathers, all animoſities ceaſed, the Indians returned to their former obedience, and tranquillity was again reſtored. Things being thus happily ſettled, father Tamaral was deſirous of returning to his miſſion of San Joſeph; but ſome faithful Indians of San Jago adviſed him to defer his journey, for Boton and Chicori were waiting for him in certain parts with two bodies of men. The diſagreeable news was confirmed by ſome Indians, whom the fathers ſent privately to reconnoitre theſe places. This account being confirmed, father Tamaral ſent meſſages by other roads to his chriſtians and catechumens of San Joſeph, that they ſhould immediately arm and march in queſt of the enemy, who, on ſeeing ſuch numbers coming armed, hid themſelves; ſo that father Tamaral's faithful pariſhioners finding no body to oppoſe him, burnt their arbours, after taking what wretched plunder they found in them. After this expedition father Tamaral, eſcorted by his Indians, of whom many were ſtill gentiles, returned to his miſſion of cape San Lucas, without meeting with the leaſt diſturbance from the ſeditious Californians: and the two heads of the conſpiracy, ſeeing their followers extremely diminiſhed, thought proper on the miſcarriage of their deſign, left both miſſions ſhould fall on them, to make their ſubmiſſion.

Accordingly, they begged for peace, and promiſed a ſuitable behaviour for the future. The fathers who laboured entirely for their converſion, readily conſented. And in the beginning of the year 1734, a peace was concluded with great rejoicings. But this peace, which had at firſt all the appearance of being laſting, was of very ſhort continuance.

This defection of the Californians and other ſmaller diſturbances, with which the fathers ſaw themſelves every day menaced, by the pride of the Indians, and the practices of thoſe whom, on account of their brutiſh exceſſes, there was a neceſſity of correcting, aroſe chiefly from the want of an eſcorte of ſoldiers, and of a garriſon in the bay de La Paz, or ſome other part betwixt it and cape San Lucas, to which recourſe might have been had in caſe of neceſſity. The fathers had only one ſoldier for a guard; and at the time of theſe tumults were without any; the garriſon conſiſting of ſo few, and the neceſſity of ſupplying other new miſſions on the frontiers of the gentiles, not permitting any to remain in theſe miſſions. The garriſon of

Loretto, which was above one hundred leagues from hence, could be of no ſervice; beſides to the factious, fickle, and treacherous diſpoſition of the Pericues, ſuch a check was much more neceſſary than to the northern Indians. And this was the reaſon which induced father Bravo to move the marquis de Valero the viceroy to form a new garriſon at La Paz, for ſecuring the remaining part to the ſouthward: and though at firſt a reſolution was accordingly taken, yet this ſalutary purpoſe was defeated in the manner we have already mentioned.

SECT. XIX.

The Philippine galleon comes for the firſt time to cape San Lucas. The ſhips company are refreſhed, and the ſick cured. The fathers Carranco and Tamaral ſuffer martyrdom by the hands of the Pericues. Father Taraval eſcapes. Four miſſions deſtroyed.

No ſooner had the peace been concluded with the rebels than they openly confeſſed their intention of maſſacring all the miſſionaries. And ſoon after, in the month of January 1734, ſome Indians who had been fiſhing off cape San Lucas, came running to the ſeat of the miſſion of San Joſeph, with news that a very large ſhip was come thither. The father ſent other Indians for a more particular account: but on their arrival the ſhip was under ſail, tho' within ſight. And ſoon after they ſaw her ſtand in and come to an anchor in San Bernabé bay, where a party of men with fire arms came aſhore for water. A young man of Loretto who had been ſent by the father, went up and ſpoke with the ſeamen. From them he underſtood that the ſhip he ſaw, was the Philippine galleon; and he informed them that there was a new miſſion erected in the neighbourhood; on which the people ſhewed a great deal of joy, and went immediately to make a report of it to don Geronimo Montero, captain of the galleon. The ſhip, at making the cape, had only water for two days, the rains by which they are ſupplied in their paſſage from Manila to Acapuco having in a great meaſure failed: and this had obliged them to touch at the harbour joining to cape San Lucas; but finding it too ſmall, ſtood into San Bernabé's bay. But their want of water was not the only misfortune that obliged them to put in here; a great many were down with the ſcurvy, the only remedy for which is to be removed on ſhore, and live upon pitahayas, acid fruits, and freſh meat: which the Indians generally barter for other things. Father Tamaral being made acquainted with theſe circumſtances by his Indians, immediately went to the ſhore, ordering that the greateſt part of the cattle ſhould be brought thither; and likewiſe to gather as many pitahayas, and other wild fruits and berries as could be found. After taking theſe meaſures, he ſent his compliments to the captain, with an offer to aſſiſt his people with whatever his poor miſſion afforded; acquainting him, at the ſame time, with the order he had given for the freſh meat and pitahayas for thoſe who had the ſcurvy; and every thing was immediately ſent aboard on its coming to the ſhore. The Indians, encouraged by the father, helped the ſeamen in filling their caſks with water; and all who came on ſhore partook of the father's welcome charity, which was accompanied with the moſt winning ſweetneſs and courteſy. The captain, with the whole ſhip's company, formally returned their thanks to the miſſionary; and, in return for his extraordinary kindneſs, ſent him a preſent of ſome goods. This refreſhment was ſo ſeaſonable, that, of the great number of ſcorbutick patients, all recovered by the known remedy of the pitahayas, freſh meat, and being aſhore during the time of watering. Three indeed were ſo far gone in the diſtemper, that there was a neceſſity of leaving them in California. Theſe were don Joſeph Franciſco de Bayton, captain of marines, don Antonio de Herrera, boatſwain of the galleon, and the moſt reverend father, Domingo de Horbigoſo, of the order of San Auguſtine, who was going to Mexico, as preſident of the hoſpital of Santo Thomas de Villa Nueva, and agent general in New Spain for his province of the Philippine iſlands. Theſe three, on their coming aſhore, were in ſo deplorable a condition, that, notwithſtanding the poverty of the miſſion, they determined to continue there, committing themſelves to the charity of father Tamaral; to whom the captain in a letter recommended them all; and the father commiſſary Mathias de Ibarra, in a particular manner, father Horbigoſo of the ſame order. The captain alſo wrote to father Tamaral, that as a miſſion was now founded, near cape San Lucas, and the Indians converted to the catholick faith, the Philippine ſhips, for the future, would always put in there, as he would procure orders for that purpoſe from the government, having ſo recently experienced the neceſſity of touching at that port, the only one in the whole paſſage from Manila to Acapulco, both for watering, the recovery of the ſick, and refreſhment of the healthy; deſiring that there might, in the following years, be a greater quantity of cattle and proviſions kept in readineſs for thoſe purpoſes. This the father promiſed ſhould be carefully obſerved; and the watering being completed, the galleon ſailed from San Bernabé bay with a fair wind.

The three patients who remained under the care of father Tamaral, found every thing they could deſire for their cure and relief. The moſt tender mother could not exert herſelf more for a favourite ſon, than the father did for his three patients. He not only expended his own ſtore, but ſent to requeſt of the fathers of the other miſſions in the neighbourhood, that they would ſpare him the beſt of their proviſions for the relief of theſe three diſtreſſed ſtrangers. He ſpent the days and nights at the ſeat of his miſſion; and by his ſkill and diligence all three recovered from that dangerous diſtemper. But don Antonio de Herrera was ſeized with another diſtemper, which, being augmented by the ſcurvy, proved mortal. The father buried him in his church, with all the decency the place would admit of, and proceeded to take an inventory before captain Baytos, and father Horbigoſo, in order to deliver them, that they might execute his will in New Spain. Such was the noble temper of this father, that they could not prevail upon him to accept of the leaſt gratuity for his care of the deceaſed, tho' it was his expreſs will. Thus he will for ever remain a remarkable inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs, which in America is ſtill more ſingular and admirable, the fatal thirſt of riches being there more vehement, that abſurd paſſion, which renders men incapable of enjoying their preſent poſſeſſions, or of ceaſing from the laborious purſuits, after that which they never will know how to enjoy.

Father Horbigoſo, charmed with ſuch benevolence and diſintereſtedneſs, has perpetuated it by the very honourable mention he makes of the father in his account of the galleon's voyage. He wrote it at the miſſion of San Joſeph: but it overflows with ſuch affectionate gratitude and ſublime encomiums on the ſociety and father Tamaral, that modeſty will not allow me to inſert it here. It is ſufficient for the reputation of the father to copy the latter part of his panegyrick: "therefore the Philippines have juſt cauſe to be thankful for having guided them to this city of refuge, and its ſo benevolent and diſintereſted a ruler, by whom all their wants were liberally ſupplied. And it would be very proper that a veſſel built in the ſame manner as thoſe for making ſignals, ſhould be ſent hither, both for the greater diſpatch in watering and ſupplying the galleon, and for the more ſpeedy conveyance of ſuch paſſengers as are ſent aſhore ſick and afterwards recover, to the harbour of La Paz, and from thence over to the oppoſite ſide: for otherwiſe I am of opinion that theſe ſervices, tho' of the greateſt importance, will be attended with prodigious difficulties and delays, there being no timber for building ſuch a veſſel."

This was the firſt time ſince the beginning of the reduction of California by father Salva-Tierra, that the Philippine ſhip had touched there. Father Tamaral, whom the viceroy, the marquis de Valero had ſo ſtrictly charged to go in queſt of a proper port, and who accordingly in his miſſion of La Puriſſima had without any ſucceſs uſed the endeavours which we have already related, had now the pleaſure of ſeeing the ſaid ſhip come to his miſſion, and of refreſhing the ſeamen and paſſengers in the manner above mentioned.

Don Geronymo Montero, on his arrival at Mexico, made a report of his voyage to the viceroy: and tho' orders were given that the ſhips in the ſucceeding years, ſhould make uſe of ſo commodious a port, there being no other all along the northern coaſt of the South ſea; yet this account was not generally approved of in New Spain, by thoſe, who, through private intereſt, looked with a jealous eye on the trade to the Philippine iſlands; and on every meaſure which tended to its conveniency and increaſe; and likewiſe by others who alſo from ſelfiſh motives oppoſed the miſſions of California. The warm diſputes then on foot relating to the tonnage and cargo of the galleon in her voyage out and home, diverted the thoughts of many from the more exalted conſiderations of the common good; the great conveniency of the harbour had been proved from experience in the late voyage: it ſeemed proper to ſecure it; and with it the miſſions and miſſionaries in the ſouth of California; by erecting the new garriſon according to his majeſty's expreſs orders. This was now earneſtly ſolicited at Mexico: and this favourable juncture ſeemed to promiſe a happy iſſue; but petitions ſo well founded had no effect; and the miſſionaries and miſſions remained expoſed and undefended as before.

At Manila, indeed, it was ordered that the galleon ſhould touch at cape San Lucas, which ſhe did the following year, as we ſhall mention in its proper place: for captain Montero returning to Manila before the ſhip ſailed, this article was added to his inſtructions.

In the mean time father Horbigoſo and captain Baytos, were by the care of father Tamaral entirely recovered: and on advice of this, a veſſel came from La Paz to cape San Lucas, in order to carry them to La Paz bay; whence in April they proceeded in a bark to Matanchel, and from thence to Mexico. The fathers continued their labours with the indocible ſavages of the ſouth; father Tamaral in St. Joſeph; father Carranco in St. Jago; father Taraval in Santa Roſa; father Clemente Guillen appointed viſitor and ſuperior of Dolores; and father Gordon at el Pilar de la Paz. The latter in the ſummer of the ſame year 1734, was obliged to go to Loretto, to haſten the ſupplies for his miſſion and the others in the ſouth, leaving it to the care of his ſafe-guard don Manuel Andres Romero. The chriſtian Indians and catechumens to appearance behaved very quietly, excepting ſome ſmall ferments which were eaſily allayed; and there ſeemed no reaſon to apprehend any thing from the gentiles: but under the aſhes of this apparent tranquility, the fire of a general rebellion was gathering head; and in the autumn of the ſame year it burſt out to the total deſtruction of four miſſions, and the imminent danger of all.

This dreadful rebellion, as appeared afterwards, did not ariſe from any particular motive or irritating accident; the origin of the rancour of the Indians againſt the fathers, being no other than their averſion to the new doctrine, which deprived them of their plurality of wives, and required them to live in a regularity and decency incompatible with their brutiſh licentiouſneſs. This afterwards ſufficiently appeared; and the principal incendiaries owned it. The deſtructive plot was firſt formed in the rancherias towards the ſouth coaſt betwixt St. Jago and St. Joſeph, by the inſidious ſuggeſtions of Boton and Chicori, who either were never ſincerely reconciled, or ſoon reaſſumed their former hatred and malignancy againſt the fathers. And that they might not be diſturbed in their exceſſes by new reprimands, they reſolved at once to ſhake off the yoke of the miſſionaries. The conſpiracy, with ſingular diſſimulation and ſecrecy, ſpread itſelf among ſeveral rancherias of all the five ſouthern miſſions: and the mutinous party increaſed every where, without the miſſionaries having the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. When they thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong, being joined by many new converts, who however came to the exerciſes and meals at the miſſions, they conſulted on putting their deſign in execution. All they feared was the ſoldiers, on account of their fire-arms; tho' the number of theſe was very ſmall, father Taraval having at Santa Roſa, though a miſſion newly founded, but three; at La Paz there was only one; at St Jago, two invalid Meſtizos of New Spain ſupplied the place of ſoldiers; and St. Joſeph del Cabo was without any. This obſtacle they endeavoured to remove by ſtratagem; and in the beginning of September, meeting with one of the ſoldiers which accompanied father Taraval, they came on him unawares and murdered him. Some of them went to the father, telling him that there was a ſoldier ſuddenly taken ill in the wood; and deſired that he would come to confeſs him, or ſend ſome ſoldier to bring him: but beſides the oddneſs of the meſſage, they betrayed ſuch a confuſion, that the father, who had received ſome vague intelligence of the conſpiracy, knew what they had done, and by queſtioning them cloſe, came to diſcover, that there actually was a deſign on foot for murdering the father and the ſoldiers by dividing their ſtrength, and drawing him aſide from his Indians. For this reaſon he declined going or ſending a ſecond ſoldier; and ſoon after the murder of the former reached his ears. Within ſome days they killed at La Paz don Manuel Andres Romero; and the fact for ſome days remained a ſecret. Theſe ſucceſſes increaſed the inſolence of the conſpirators, ſo that now the rebellion became more viſible, eſpecially in the territory of St. Jago; yet the miſſionaries did not conſider it as any thing more than what was uſual in new miſſions.

About this time a ſoldier of Loretto came to the miſſion of St. Joſeph del Cabo, as a ſafeguard to father Tamaral, and likewiſe to bleed and aſſiſt him, the wants and labours of the miſſionary having brought on him a dangerous diſeaſe. The ſoldier had obſerved ſome ſigns of rebellion in the territory of St. Jago; and ſaw them confirmed by others in that of St. Joſeph. He acquainted father Tamaral of this: and reſolutely told him that the danger was too great to ſtay there any longer, and that he would take upon him to carry him ſafe to La Paz. The father full of that intrepidity common to a native of Seville, endeavoured to remove the ſoldier's apprehenſions, but he anſwered that he would not ſtay there to periſh; and as he could not bring the father into his meaſures, he left him to himſelf, and made the beſt of his way to La Paz; and when within a proper diſtance of that place he diſcharged his piece as the uſual ſignal, but no anſwer was made: on this he walked up to the houſe and called aloud to the ſoldier, but ſtill there was no anſwer, nor could he ſee any Indian of whom to enquire: but on going into the houſe he ſaw ſome traces of blood, the portmanteau empty, and ſome fragments of utenſils and furniture ſcattered up and down the floor. Judging from theſe evident ſigns that Romero the ſoldier had been murdered,

dered, he immediately fled to the miſſion of Dolores which was above ſixty leagues diſtant.

Here he acquainted the ſuperior father Guillen of the diſaſter he had ſeen, and of the danger of the other miſſionaries. The father was not entirely unapprized of this, ſome rancherias of his miſſion having been diſturbed by a gang of the conſpirators, who forcibly carried off ſeveral Indians. But on the intelligence of the ſoldier, he diſpatched meſſengers to the three fathers, that they ſhould withdraw to Dolores. Soon after letters were brought him from father Carranco informing him, that a certain diſcovery had been made of a plot breaking out among the Pericues, and deſired his orders. Father Guillen ſent away freſh letters, that they ſhould all go to La Paz, whither he ſent a canoe with ſeventeen Indians of known fidelity; but neither of the letters came to hand, the conſpirators having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes; and even had thoſe orders reached them, probably it would have been too late. At the ſame time father Carranco ſent a body of chriſtians in all appearance very faithful, to father Tamaral at the miſſion of St. Joſeph, adviſing him of the commotions and evident ſigns of a general plot, entreating him that, being alone, and without a ſafeguard, he would come to his miſſion, where they might conſult on the beſt meaſures to be taken in ſuch a critical juncture. Father Tamaral ſent him for anſwer, that in his miſſion no ſuch ſigns had appeared; that he looked on thoſe apprehenſions to be partly owing to the timidity of thoſe who brought ſuch information; and partly to the wiles of the common enemy for diſturbing them and impeding the labours of the miſſions; that he truſted in God whom he deſired to ſerve both in life and death; but did not think himſelf worthy of martyrdom, nor in ſuch dangerous circumſtances as would juſtify his abandoning his miſſion, eſpecially as in the former diſturbances his people had given evident proofs of their fidelity. This letter was afterwards found among the broken remnants of father Carranco's effects. Father Tamaral thus remained alone in his miſſion, having diſmiſſed the Indians ſent from St. Jago. Theſe on their return from the miſſion of St. Joſeph fell in with ſome parties of the rebels, who aſked them from whence and from whom they came. They anſwered that they had gone by father Carranco's direction to father Tamaral in order to bring him to St. Jago: for the father, added they, already knows of your deſigns to kill them: the boy in his houſe who tells him every thing, gave him notice of it. The intention of the rebels was firſt to murder father Tamaral, as quite defenceleſs; and then to proceed to the other miſſions: hoping to extirpate the fathers out of the peninſula. But hearing that father Carranco was acquainted with their deſign, they altered their meaſures; and went to diſpatch him firſt, that he might not eſcape, or ſend for any ſoldiers. This they openly mentioned to the chriſtians of St. Jago, who, after a few ſolicitations mixed with threatenings, contrary to the fidelity they owed to God and the father, joined the rebels, directing their courſe to St. Jago in order to take away the life of their beſt benefactor.

They came to the ſeat of the miſſion on Friday the firſt of October, betwixt ſix and ſeven in the morning, when father Lorenzo Carranco had juſt concluded maſs, and was retired to other devotional offices in his chamber. Their firſt queſtion was, whether the two Meſtizos, the father's guards, were in the village: and were informed that a little before, they went out to fetch two beaſts for the ordinary expence of the miſſions, the catechumens, children, old men, &c. Nevertheleſs the foreign conſpirators fearing the father, tho' alone, kept at a diſtance from the houſe, whilſt ſome of their meſſengers who were inhabitants of the miſſion, went in under pretence of making a report of their proceedings. The father who was then on his knees, at their coming in, aroſe and received them very affectionately. He expreſſed his wonder that father Tamaral was not come with them, and aſked if they brought no letter: they ſaid yes; and gave it to him. Upon which he began to read it; but when he was moſt abſorbed in attention, the whole body of conſpirators ruſhed ſuddenly into the houſe, and two of them falling on the father, ſeized him and dragged him out between the houſe and the church, where thoſe two held him by his gown, while the others ſtabbed him with arrows: the father in the mean time ſending up fervent ejaculations to heaven, and offering to God for his own faults, and thoſe of his Indians, the pure ſacrifice of his life. The cowardly wretches, when they ſaw there was nothing to fear, finiſhed their bloody purpoſe with ſticks and ſtones. In the mean time one of them happening to caſt his eye towards the houſe, and ſeeing in it the little Indian boy who waited on the father, crying bitterly for the cruel uſage of his dear maſter, ſaid to him, what do you cry for? now go and tell the father what is doing in the rancherias. Another added; ſince he loved the father, it is reaſonable he ſhould go and keep him company. Then taking him by the feet, they daſhed his head againſt the walls of the houſe, and the floor, and when he was dead, threw him to the place where the others were ſtoning and beating the cold body of the venerable Carranco.

The noiſe of theſe violent proceedings brought together the Indians of both ſexes and all ages: and though ſome were diſpleaſed with ſuch inhumanity, they could not with ſafety interpoſe, eſpecially as among the murderers, they obſerved ſome of the principal of the miſſion, who, as ſuch, had been pitched upon for eſcorting father Tamaral from St. Joſeph. Here the giddy diſpoſition of the Indians was ſuch, that they, who in the morning had joined in devotions with the father, now ſhared all the rancour and fury of the others againſt him: and thus whilſt ſome heaped wood together for burning him, others dragged towards the pile his bloody and disfigured body, in which ſtill remained ſome ſigns of life. Here they ſtripped him not ſo much for the ſake of his cloaths, as by their execrable inſults to revenge the freedom with which he had reproved their beaſtialities. The ſeveral ſhocking enormities they practiſed on his breathleſs corps, together with their abominable ſcurrilities before they committed it to the flames, are beſt paſſed over in ſilence! only obſerving that their barbarity and brutal inſults evidently ſhewed, that the great object of their rage and malignity was the doctrine newly introduced by the father; eſpecially as it required chaſtity and moderation. Thus amidſt ſhouts, outrages, and execrations, the bodies of Lorenzo Carranco and his little ſervant were thrown into the fire. After which they proceeded to pillage the houſe and church, keeping the cloaths and ſuch furniture as could be of uſe, the reſt they burnt: crucifixes, pictures, ſtatues of ſaints, the altar, chalice, miſſal, and other ſacred things were thrown into the fire, as a ſure ſign of their hatred of religion. The bodies and furniture of the church were burning amidſt the wild exultations of the Indians, when the two domeſticks of the father came in ſight, bringing with them the two beaſts which they had gone out to fetch, but with no other arms than their knives. The Indians immediately getting about them bid them alight and kill the beaſts, tho' this was more than they durſt do, there was no time for objections: but they had no ſooner performed this office than the Indians let fly at them a ſhower of arrows, and while they continued in the agonies of death, threw them into the ſame fire.

After perpetrating theſe cruelties at St. Jago, the murderers went to the miſſion of St. Joſeph del Cabo de San Lucas. But were now accompanied by a much greater number of people

The Martyrdom of Father Carranco. Vol. II. p. 11.

The Martyrdom of Father Tamaral.

people than at St. Jago, the aſſault there being before the time appointed; whereas now, beſides thoſe who joined them at St. Jago, which was the far greater number of the miſſion, others flocked to them from all parts. This infernal company came to the father's houſe at eight in the morning on Sunday the third of October, being the feſtival of the roſary of our lady. He was ſitting quietly in his appartment without any apprehenſion of ſuch violent deſigns, when a party of the ſeditious Californians, conſiſting of the very Indians of his miſſion broke in upon him, all calling out for ſomething, that if he denied them, they might have an occaſion of quarreling with him. The father from their diſorder, and ſeeing them all armed, immediately knew their execrable intentions. However he mildly anſwered, "ſtay children; there is enough in the houſe to content you all." Seeing themſelves diſappointed of their pretence for reſentment, without ſtaying to contrive any further artifice, the Indians, who at St. Jago had firſt laid hands on father Carranco, now knocked down father Tamaral; then dragged him by the feet out of his houſe, where ſome arrows were ſhot at him; but all coming up they thought it better to cut his throat with one of the knives which he himſelf uſed to diſtribute to them for their neceſſities.

ſities. Thus, they who a little before had not courage to kill two harmleſs beaſts, now, inflamed by the ſanguinary ſpirit of cruelty, murdered their paſtor, who, by innumerable benefits, endeavoured to bring them to a life of purity; when dying, he recommended himſelf and his flock to the good ſhepherd of the human race, whoſe name he continued invoking with his laſt breath. This cruel action was followed by thoſe abominable inſults on his body, which they had practiſed at St. Jago: but at St. Joſeph the feſtivity was greater and laſted longer; for here were preſent multitudes of people of all ages: and beſides, being now free from any apprehenſions of the two fathers, they could celebrate their villainies in all the brutiſh licentiouſneſs, with which in the time of their infidelity they uſed to ſolemnize their victories.

To this delay however was owing the life of father Sigiſmund Taraval, miſſionary of Santa Roſa now aſſiſting at the village of Todos Santos. At the time they were killing and burning father Carranco and his boy, a lad of this village happened to be at St. Jago, and on ſeeing what paſſed returned to Todos Santos, whilſt the rebels went to St. Joſeph. At this place the boy gave an account of all he had ſeen to an honeſt old man, who immediately taking the boy with him, found out father Taraval; and having made him tell the ſtory, added, "take care, father, for they'll be preſently here to kill you; it is out of our power to defend you: but if you are willing, we will carry you over to that iſland where you'll be ſafe." Soon after came ſome other Indians from Santa Roſa, who had been preſent at the death of father Tamaral at St. Joſeph: and had haſtened to acquaint their miſſionary, that they had already ſent meſſengers to their adherents at La Paz, who had murdered Romero the ſoldier, that they ſhould proceed to diſpatch father Taraval and his ſervant. This meſſage was owing to the cowardice of the inſurgents, who, from the dread of the fire arms, were deſirous of leaving the aſſault to others. On this father Taraval, thought it his duty to make proviſion for ſaving his own life, and that of his guards: accordingly, he took the furniture of the altar, and on the night of the 4th of October, retired to La Paz bay unperceived by the enemy; and taking alſo from thence the ornaments and conſecrated utenſils of that miſſion, he went on board the boat which the father viſitor Guillen had ſent purſuant to the intelligence he received from father Carranco, and in it he ſailed to the iſland del Spiritu Santo; where ſoon after another boat arrived with men and proviſions from Loretto: and with theſe ſuccours father Taraval was enabled to ſet out immediately for the miſſion of Dolores, for preventing their intentions againſt this ſettlement; and at the ſame time to concert meaſures for reſtoring tranquility to the miſſions in the ſouthern parts. The weather proving fine, father Taraval with all his company happily arrived at Dolores, where he found father Guillen overwhelmed with grief at theſe ſhocking cruelties. He had heard only of the death of father Carranco; but his grief knew no bounds when he was informed of the murder of father Tamaral and the utter ruin of all the four miſſions of St. Jago, St. Joſeph, Santa Roſa and el Pilar de la Paz. Their diſcourſes chiefly related to the moſt proper meaſures to be taken in this diſmal ſtate of affairs: but during theſe conferences the Pericues and Coras had poſted from St. Joſeph del Cabo to the village of Todos Santos in queſt of father Taraval, as thoſe of La Paz had not engaged in the rebellion. But on hearing that he had made his eſcape, they turned their rage againſt the neighbouring Indians, and falling on them unawares, killed twenty ſeven chriſtians, the reſt eſcaping by flight. Theſe violences were ſucceeded by quarrels among themſelves, which broke out into petty wars, the rancherias attacking each other with all the treachery and fury, practiſed before their converſion to chriſtianity.

SECT. XX.

All the miſſionaries, from a miſtruſt of the northern Indians, retire to Loretto. A remarkable inſtance of fidelity of the Yaquis. Meaſures taken by the fathers for pacifying the ſouthern Indians. Miſfortune which attended the Philippine galleon. The governor of Cinaloa goes to CALIFORNIA. Death of father Julian de Mayorga. The Pericues are quieted, and a new garriſon ſettled at San Lucas.

On the firſt advice of theſe ſhocking tranſactions, father Guillen, as ſuperior of California, wrote to the other ſuperiors of the ſociety, and likewiſe to the viceroy don Juan Antonio Bizarron; that the ruin which threatened the other miſſions, if the northern Indians ſhould follow the example of the ſouthern, might be prevented; meaſures taken to ſupply the damages already ſuſtained, and a ſtop put to the ravages of the rebel Pericues. But his excellency did not think that the inſurrection of the Indians, the murder of the miſſionaries and ſoldiers, the ruin of the four miſſions, and the imminent danger of the other ſettlements ſoldiers and miſſionaries, were ſufficient to warrant any extraordinary expences in behalf of California. And on the 8th of December of the ſame year 1734, he ſent for anſwer to the father viſitor Guillen, "That, ſenſible of the dangers to which thoſe miſſions were expoſed, and of their great importance to religion and the king, he would with pleaſure concur with the fathers in any report or account they ſhould judge convenient, and would uſe his utmoſt intereſt with his majeſty, that all thoſe meaſures might be purſued which tended to promote ſuch uſeful undertakings: adding, that if he could obtain a warrant from his majeſty, he would endeavour to execute it in its full extent." The good diſpoſitions which appeared in this letter, afforded no manner of relief in the preſent exigency. In the mean time the rebellion increaſed, and ſome ſigns of diſturbances broke out in the territory of the miſſion of Dolores. The captain on the firſt account repaired thither with ſome ſoldiers from the ſouthern miſſions, where he found father Taraval, by whom he was informed of the above mentioned diſaſters, the ruin of the miſſions, and the inſolence of the Indians. As it was not prudent to venture a handful of men againſt ſuch numbers fluſhed with ſucceſs, eſpecially as the Californians were ſo little to be relied on, he thought proper to ſtop at the miſſion of Dolores, to keep the Indians of that diſtrict in order, and there face the rebels in order to cut off their communication with other nations, that the fire might not ſpread among the northern miſſions, till the aſſiſtance they vainly expected, ſhould arrive from the government of Mexico.

But by degrees the knowledge of what had paſſed in the ſouth, reached the furtheſt extent of the conqueſts; and the news paſſing from one rancheria to another, though of different languages, the Indians of San Ignacio underſtood what had happened at cape San Lucas, though at the diſtance of above two hundred leagues. This inflamed the vicious paſſions of many, who, diſguſted at the new manner of living, ſecretly ſpread malicious reports againſt the fathers, who had aboliſhed their old cuſtoms: adding, that if the Indians of the ſouth had been able to deſtroy them, they, as more numerous and a braver people, ſhould find it an eaſy taſk to do the like. Theſe ſeditious murmurs were likewiſe heard in other miſſions; and though they did not infect the principal Indians, who on the contrary faithfully gave notice to the miſſionaries of what was intended; but, at the ſame time deſired that a large guard might be ſent them againſt any emergency, their ſoldiers being very much diſpirited. They were indeed greatly intimidated by their comerades being killed by the Pericues, and the opinion that prevailed at Loretto, that the whole nation of California was going to riſe. And the father viſitor Guillen, not being able to aſſiſt them with a ſufficient guard, wrote in the beginning of the year 1735, to all the miſſionaries requiring them by virtue of his authority, to quit the miſſions and all repair to Loretto; that by the protection of the garriſon they might ſave their lives. Their compliance with this order was at firſt not perceived by the Indians, as they ſucceſſively withdrew according to the time of receiving the letters. It muſt be acknowledged that this command of the ſuperior ſaved the lives of the miſſionaries: for the flame of rebellion ſpread with ſuch rapidity among thoſe unthinking barbarians, tho' of better intellects and diſpoſitions than the Pericues, that had not the removal been made ſo very ſeaſonably, all California would probably have been loſt for ever.

The miſſionaries being now retired to Loretto, and the miſſions of the north forſaken, father Guillen again ſent an account to Mexico of the terrible condition of the miſſions of California; and the imminent danger which on all ſides ſurrounded them at the ſame time. Father Bravo, the miſſionary of Loretto, ſent the bark to the river Yaqui with letters to the governour and miſſionary jeſuits, acquainting them with the general danger, and deſiring that they would immediately ſend ſixty Indian warriors, and ſome exerciſed perſons with fire-arms, in order to protect their lives, as they were abſolutely unable to quell the Indians, ſhould the nations of the north, the middle parts, and the ſouth, join in a league. Theſe advices arrived at Mexico on the 13th of April the ſame year: and though the provincial of New Spain immediately delivered the letters to the viceroy, and in two memorials urged him to take ſuitable meaſures on ſo important a juncture, nothing was done. This obliged him to have recourſe to his majeſty, ſending letters to Europe by a ſhip then juſt ready to ſail. Accordingly, father Gaſper Rodero formerly provincial of Mexico, and at that time agent general at court for the Indian provinces, laid the affair before his majeſty. But the aſſiſtance which might be naturally expected from civilized people, providence provided among ſavages, who had very lately been gentiles. The Yaqui nation

tion who had always given the nobleſt proofs of their fidelity, maintained their character in this juncture. For no ſooner was the report ſpread in their country than above five hundred warriors came down armed from their villages to the river, in order to embark for the relief of California. But as the bilander was too ſmall to carry ſo many, they picked out among themſelves ſixty, and the others, that they might not be without ſome ſhare in the enterpriſe, gave them their bows and arrows for arming the faithful Indians of the peninſula. The bilander immediately ſailed, and landed them near Loretto, and from thence they marched to Dolores, where they found the captain of the garriſon: for at their arrival the tranquillity of the north, had been reſtored by a remarkable action of thoſe new chriſtians.

As ſoon as the leading men among them were informed that the fathers with the interpreters and ſoldiers were miſſing, and had carried away with them the ornaments and furnitures of the churches, they were ſenſible of the cauſe of their retreat: and being greatly affected with it, agreed by reciprocal meſſages to meet and repair to Loretto. Accordingly they ſet out, ſome of them carrying on their ſhoulders the croſſes of the miſſions of San Ignacio, Nueſtra Sennora de Guadalupe, and Santa

Roſalia: and thus in a regular proceſſion entered the garriſon, intreating the fathers with floods of tears, that as they had baptized and inſtructed them in the chriſtian religion, they would not now leave them to periſh and return to their former crimes, their ſincere deſire being to live and die chriſtians: adding that it was unjuſt for the whole nation to ſuffer for the faults of a few; eſpecially as they were willing to deliver up to puniſhment, all who had either ſpoke or acted amiſs, and would undertake to protect the fathers, and convey them ſafe to the captain of the garriſon: but if the fathers were not inclined to return to their country they would ſettle at Loretto; being determined not to live without them. All were moved by theſe arguments, delivered with ſuch ſigns of contrition and ſincerity: and the Indians were detained ſome days to reſt themſelves, and at the ſame time to prove whether treachery was not concealed under the cloak of piety. But no ſuſpicious ſigns appearing, the fathers returned to their ſeveral diſtricts, where they were received with inexpreſſible joy: the moſt guilty were ſlightly puniſhed, purely to gratify the others; and four only belonging to San Ignacio baniſhed for a certain term, that in ſuch a critical juncture there might be no ſparks left to rekindle the fire of rebellion.

The auxiliaries from Yaqui having now joined the captain, ſoldiers, and faithful Indians of California, it was ordered, that as this miſſion was now quiet, a ſufficient guard ſhould remain in it; and the others repair to the bay of La Paz, in order to form a camp there, and keep a communication open by ſea for ſtores and proviſions; and from thence make excurſions towards the ſouth. Accordingly preparations were made for tranſporting thither this little army, partly by ſea, with the proviſions, and partly by land, with the beaſts. They who went by ſea, arriving firſt, landed with great regularity, poſted themſelves advantageouſly, and ſtrictly obſerved military diſcipline, which indeed proved very neceſſary; the Indians, with unuſual courage and ſhouts, attacking them ſeveral nights, ſo that ſome were wounded on both ſides. But the appearance of the more numerous body, which came by land, part of which were horſe, ſo intimidated the rebels, that they did not appear either by night or day. Some Indians alſo came in a peaceable manner, proteſting that they had always been faithful; and as ſuch had ſuffered from the conſpirators. They added, that the inſolence of the rebels was augmented by a misfortune which a little before had happened to the Philippine galleon, and was as follows.

Don Geronimo Montero arriving at Manila, in his return from Acapulco, before the galleon which was to ſail had put to ſea, gave an account of the reception, he had met with at cape San Lucas; upon which orders were given to the galleon to touch at the ſaid cape, obſerving the ſignals agreed on with the miſſionary. The galleon happily arrived at the cape, tho' many of her crew were ill of the ſcurvy; but not perceiving either the ſignals expected, nor any people on the ſhore, the pinnace was hoiſted out, and thirteen ſeamen ſent to acquaint the father of the neighbouring miſſion, with their arrival. When they came near the ſhore, they were ſurpriſed at ſeeing no perſon to receive them; but tho' they naturally might have ſuſpected ſome miſchief, they landed without the leaſt care; and leaving a few to take care of the pinnace, went up the country, in queſt of the village, which they knew to be at a ſmall diſtance; but by the way the Indians ſallied out from an ambuſh, and letting fly a ſhower of arrows, killed every man; then running towards the boat, where the ſeamen were as little on their guard as the others had been, diſpatched them in the ſame manner. The captain, ſurprized at this delay of the pinnace, tho' not without ſome apprehenſion of miſchief, ſent his long boat manned and armed; but on coming within ſight of the pinnace, they found her ſurrounded by a ſwarm of Indians, who were pulling her to pieces for the iron-work. Incenſed at this, and much more at the dead bodies, the mariners and ſoldiers leaped aſhore, engaged the Indians, wounded ſome, killed one or two, and took four priſoners, whom they carried on board the ſhip, where their grief was now greater than their late joy at diſcovering the cape. The captain committed the priſoners to the care of the maſter at arms, in order to their being examined before the viceroy; and without taking in any refreſhments or water, tho' in great want of both, weighed anchor, and ſailed for Acapulco; where, as at Mexico, this deplorable misfortune was allowed to be a ſufficient proof of the neceſſity, even ſetting aſide all motives of humanity, for retrieving and ſupporting the ruined miſſions of California.

Accordingly the viceroy took ſome meaſures towards ſupporting that tottering conqueſt; ſendnig orders to the governor of Cinaloa, that he ſhould go over to California with a body of men, puniſh the ringleaders of this rebellion, and intimidate others from engaging in a future; but at the ſame time added, that tho' he was occaſionally to act in concert with the captain and ſoldiers of the garriſon, he was by no means to be ſubordinate to him, much leſs under the direction of the fathers. The governor accordingly ſent advice of his orders to Loretto, that the miſſion's bilander might be ſent to him at Cinaloa, adding that they were to abſtain from further hoſtilities at La Paz. In the mean time, the ſoldiers and confederate Indians had made ſome incurſions into the country, but with little ſucceſs, meeting with ſcarce any people to engage; the Indians flying and hiding themſelves in caverns, and among the rocks. But now father Guillen ſent directions to the captain to repair to the miſſion of Dolores, and there continue on the defenſive; and, at the ſame time, diſpatched the bilander for tranſporting the governor of Cinaloa, and his men. On his arrival at Loretto, he was received with ſuitable diſtinctions and honours, and likewiſe with great joy and politeneſs, by the fathers. But the governor ſoon ſignified, that he came with an intent to act againſt the Californians, according to the prejudices which then prevailed at Mexico; and that he was little diſpoſed to liſten to the advice of the fathers, tho' ſo long acquainted with the country, and the nature of the inhabitants. Accordingly he attempted the reduction, by ſuch meaſures as he judged moſt proper; but after ſpending two years in it, with various ſucceſs, he was obliged to own, to his extreme mortification, that the effects of his meaſures little anſwered his expectations. In the mean time died, on the 10th of November 1736, the aged father Julian de Mayorga, who having in 1707 laid the foundation of the miſſion of St. Joſeph de Comondu, and governed it in peace, to the great improvement of his Indians, for above twenty-nine years; it was therefore no wonder that they, together with all the fathers and ſoldiers, ſhould entertain a moſt cordial affection for him, on account of his extraordinary abilities and virtues.

Soon after the death of this father, the governor altered his conduct, and began to execute what the fathers had at firſt adviſed, namely, to ſtrike a terror into the Indians, by attempting ſome ſignal action, after which they would conſider his will as a law. They added, that leſs damage would attend this method, than if at firſt he made uſe of gentle methods, or purſued them by parties; and that after being thoroughly intimidated, they would court his clemency, and acknowledge it with a more laſting gratitude. Accordingly he went in queſt of the Indians, and had the good fortune to bring them to a general action, in which they were ſcandalouſly defeated. Their obſtinacy and inſolence, however, were grown to ſuch a height, during the two preceding years, that inſtead of ſurrendering or making overtures for peace, they continued the hoſtilities by ſkirmiſhes, till the governor found means to force them to a ſecond battle, in which their behaviour was the ſame as in the former; and ſoon after they ſurrendered themſelves, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner implored his pardon: but the governor refuſed to liſten to them, till they offered to diſcover, and deliver up the chief promoters of the late rebellion, and who had the greateſt hand in murdering the fathers and ſoldiers. Accordingly they were delivered up; but, by an ill-timed clemency, he only baniſhed them to the coaſt of New Spain. Divine juſtice, however, as if it diſapproved of this clemency, did not ſuffer the bloody rebellion to go unpuniſhed: for a few ſoldiers only being appointed to guard the baniſhed Indians; the latter attempted to make themſelves maſters of the bark; ſo that the ſoldiers were under a neceſſity of firing on them, by which means the greateſt part of them were killed. Among the few that eſcaped, were the two hardened wretches who firſt laid hands on the venerable fathers; "but, adds father Taraval, they both came to a very miſerable end; one being killed in the firſt year of his baniſhment; and the other having climbed a palm-tree, fell from the top of it among the rocks, by which means his body was horribly mangled, and he expired in all the malice of his apoſtacy."

In the mean time, our gracious ſovereign Philip V. on the repreſentation and petition of father Pedro Ignacio Altamiſano and Bernardo Lozano, agents for the province of New Spain, ordered another warrant to the viceroy, with poſitive orders for erecting a new garriſon in the ſouthern part of California, agreeably to the inſtructions ſent ſome years before to the marquis de Caſa Fuerte, that under its protection, the loſt miſſions might be re-eſtabliſhed, and chriſtianity be for the future ſupported; authorizing him, at the ſame time, to take all ſuch meaſures as might contribute to the advancement of the conqueſt. By virtue of this warrant, the governor of Cinaloa was ordered to erect the new garriſon in the bay of La Paz; but afterwards, on conſidering the importance of a proper harbour for the Philippine ſhips to put in at, cape San Lucas was judged a more convenient ſituation. It was likewiſe ordered, that neither the captain, nor the ſoldiers of this garriſon, ſhould be appointed by the fathers, nor, in any manner, depend on them; nor be ſubordinate to the captain of the garriſon of Loretto, but ſubject only to the orders of the viceroy. The perſon whom the governor nominated for captain, was don Bernardo Rodrigues Lorenzo, ſon to the veteran captain of the garriſon of Loretto, don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, who being born and brought up in California, under the eye of his worthy father, was poſſeſſed of that piety, prudence, courage, and knowledge of the country, which, at that time, were particularly requiſite in a captain of ſuch a garriſon. Under him were thirty ſoldiers, ten of whom at firſt he poſted at the new camp of St. Joſeph del Cabo; ten at the miſſion of La Paz, and ten at that of St. Jago de los Coras: but capt. don Bernardo Rodrigues being thought to ſhew too much deference to the fathers, was ſoon diſplaced; and don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo appointed to ſucceed him. The father, agent of California, at Mexico, proteſted againſt this independency, as contrary to the royal ſchedules, in which it was expreſſed, that no alteration ſhould be made in the government of California. This, however, procured no change in the orders of the viceroy, who had been the author of the late regulation. His excellency, however, made an augmentation of five ſoldiers to the ancient garriſon of Loretto; and thus its number became equal to the new garriſon of cape San Lucas; but withal directed, that the captain and ſoldiers ſhould be entirely independent of the fathers; and that, tho' in caſe of neceſſity, they were to eſcort them, yet the ſuperior, or viſitor of California, ſhould not have any authority over them, nor ſhould the entrance, diſcharge, or payment of officers, artificers, ſoldiers, or ſeamen, be under their management. Accordingly, the regulation took place, and the fathers, during eighteen months, were eaſed of that care. But the greateſt diſorders reſulted from this independency, as forſaking the father in their miſſions, viſits, progreſſes, and expeditions, the neglect of all military duties, oppreſſion of the natives, trading and fiſhing for pearls, violences committed on the divers, who came to thoſe coaſts from New Spain. In fine, ſuch confuſions and irregularities were committed in California, that the whole country was on the point of being utterly loſt, by the fault of thoſe very garriſons which had been erected for its ſecurity: and it was owing to a very ſingular providence, that the whole inhabitants of California did not again riſe on the fathers. Theſe proceedings produced ſuch numbers of complaints, that the viceroy ſaw himſelf obliged to alter his opinion; and, agreeably to the plan of his predeceſſors, diſcharged the captain of the garriſon of San Lucas, who had been appointed by the governor of Cinaloa; and ordered that the ſaid garriſon ſhould be commanded only by a lieutenant, ſubordinate to the captain of Loretto; that both, together with their ſoldiers, ſhould, as before, be at the direction of the father viſitor; and their admiſſions, diſcharges, and payments put on the former footing.

SECT. XXI.

The ſouthern miſſion happily reſtored. Excellent meaſures taken by his majeſty Philip V. for promoting the conqueſt. His preſent majeſty Ferdinand VI. ratifies them in their full extent.

No ſooner, by the zeal and courage of the governor of Cinaloa, were the Pericues or Uchities, the Guaycuros and Coras reduced, and the new garriſon of San Lucas eſtabliſhed, than the ſociety appointed new miſſionaries for gathering together the diſperſed members of their churches; eſpecially in thoſe parts which had been ſtained with the blood of the two faithful miſſionaries; founding and regulating

the

the four miſſions of el Pilar in La Paz bay, Santa Roſa in Palmas bay, St. Joſeph near cape San Lucas, and St. Jago among the Coras. Father Antonio Tempis was ſent to the latter, and by his unwearied labours, gathered the diſperſed Indians together, and officiated with exemplary ſedulity till his death. He was a perſon of ſolid, uniform, and ſublime virtue, and a faithful labourer in the vineyard to his maſter.

The viceroy, by letters of the 23d of April 1735, and of the 10th of April 1737, acquainted his majeſty Philip V. of the inſurrection of the Indians, with the ſubſequent occurrences; and the ſociety was under a neceſſity of troubling his majeſty on the ſame ſubject, imploring him to ſave that miſſion which had been ſo much recommended and favoured by his princely care. And theſe letters had the moſt happy effect.

The reſtoration of the ruined miſſions required an expence to which the product of their lands, or the funds for their ſupport, were far from being ſufficient. They had alſo been exhauſted by the extraordinary charges incurred by the inſurrections. But notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, the diſtreſſed affairs of California were brought to a happy concluſion. The melancholy accounts above mentioned having reached the ears of Philip V. he gave orders that not only a new garriſon ſhould be erected, but on the 2d of April 1742, was pleaſed to ſign a warrant that the expences occaſioned by the rebellion, ſhould be made good out of the royal treaſury: and laſtly, that the council of the Indies ſhould lay before him the moſt effectual means for totally reducing California. The ſcheme and meaſures for its execution were zealouſly eſpouſed by that excellent nobleman don Joſeph Carvajal de Lancaſter, at that time preſident of the ſaid council, ſecretary of ſtate, and knight of the order of the golden fleece, who immediately cauſed all the preceding tranſactions, relating to California to be examined; and his great penetration ſoon diſcovered the importance of the conqueſt, the various difficulties which retarded it, and the moſt proper meaſures for carrying it on with ſucceſs. Nor did he ſtop here, but procured the royal ſignature to the moſt expreſs orders for carrying them into execution. Accordingly, on the 13th of November 1744, a full warrant was diſpatched to the count de Fuen Clara, viceroy, with letters to ſeveral private perſons, requiring freſh informations on various and important heads; and a very full account was returned by father Chriſtoval de Eſcobar Llamas, provincial of

Mexico, dated the 30th of November 1745; and arrived in Madrid after the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty Ferdinand VI. on the ninth of June 1746, who, inheriting all the zeal and magnanimity of his glorious father, on the report of his council ſtrongly recommended by the marquis de la Enſenada, at that time ſecretary of ſtate and of the Indies, ordered another ſchedule, much fuller than the former, and directed it to the preſent viceroy of New Spain. I cannot forbear inſerting a literal copy of this inſtrument, as it is an illuſtrious monument of the auguſt intentions and ardent zeal of both monarchs; of the foreſight, ſagacity, and wiſdom of his council; of the knowledge, prudence, piety, activity, and grand deſigns of his miniſters.

The KING.

"Don Juan Franciſco de Guemes and Horcaſita, lieutenant general of my armies, viceroy, governor and captain general of the provinces of New Spain, and preſident of my royal audience there, reſiding in the city of Mexico: on the 13th of November 1734, was diſpatched to your predeceſſor in theſe employments the count de Fuen-Clara, an order to the following purpoſe:

the

The KING.

Count de Fuen Clara, couſin, knight of the illuſtrious order of the golden fleece, lord of my bed-chamber, viceroy, governor, and captain general of the provinces of my kingdom of New Spain, and preſident of my royal audience there, reſiding in my city of Mexico: The archbiſhop viceroy your predeceſſor in thoſe employments having, by a letter of the 23d of April 1735, and of the 10th of the ſame month 1737, ſent an account of what has paſſed in the inſurrection of the Indians of the nations called Pericu and Guaycura in the province of California, and of the meaſures taken and the expences incurred by reducing them to the ſubjection and tranquillity in which by the good conduct of the governor of Cinaloa they then were, and the preceding accounts have been laid before my council of the Indies for their deliberation, together with the origin, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the ſpiritual and temporal conqueſt of the ſaid province of California; and I having at the requeſt of father Altamirano of the ſociety of Jeſus, and agent general for its provinces in the Indies, and particularly of the miſſions of its order in California, approved of the meaſures taken, and the expences employed in the reduction of them, as I ſignified to you in letters of the 2d of April in the foregoing year; it is judged proper, till the receipt of the accounts and reports relative to thoſe letters and which are daily expected from California, to deliberate on in my before mentioned council of the meaſures which may be moſt effectual for the entire accompliſhment of the reduction and conqueſt in queſtion; which has been attempted ever ſince the year 1523, firſt by don Fernando Cortez marquis del Valle and firſt viceroy of theſe provinces; and ſince by ſome of his ſucceſſors, and by particular perſons at ſeveral times: and though large ſupports were furniſhed by my royal treaſury, yet by misfortunes and inſuperable difficulties never took effect, notwithſtanding the propoſed conqueſt had the incentive of rich pearl fiſheries. Beſides the manifeſt inclination and docility of the natives, for embracing our holy religion, and conforming themſelves to a civil life, as among other jeſuit miſſionaries is affirmed by the father Juan Maria de Salva-Tierra and Euſebio Franciſco Kino in the year 1698; but more particularly and clearly by father Franciſco Piccolo in the year 1716, when, by the indefatigable zeal of the religious of the ſociety of Jeſus, the only perſons who have dedicated themſelves to that commendable ſervice, and likewiſe by the contributions of the faithful, thoſe miſſions and converſions were already very far advanced; to which deſirable work likewiſe my royal treaſury added an annual ſubſidy of thirteen thouſand dollars, from the year 1703, intended principally to defray the charges of a body of ſoldiers for the miſſions, and pay the officers and men belonging to the bark which carries the miſſionaries from the coaſt of Cinaloa thither: and my ſaid council of the Indies having, with the greateſt diligence and punctuality, reviſed and examined all the ſeveral articles on this head, as likewiſe the reports from the auditor's office, and from the before mentioned father Pedro Ignacio Altamirano and other judicious perſons of his order, and verſed in thoſe converſions; and my ſollicitor's opinion on the whole, has been repreſented to me in council on the 12th of May of this year, that it is of the higheſt importance that the moſt effectual meaſures ſhould be immediately taken for bringing back the ſaid province of the Californias into the boſom of the church, and under my dominion: which advantageous enterpriſe, though vigorouſly ſupported by the catholick zeal of my glorious predeceſſors, and the viceroys of thoſe provinces, has ſo often miſcarried, that not a foot of land in that vaſt territory has been ſecured: and for its more perfect and ſpeedy accompliſhment, my council in their repreſentation of the ſame day ſignified to me, that the ſolid and fundamental baſe of it muſt be the converſion of the natives to our holy religion, by means of thoſe particular jeſuit miſſionaries who have made ſuch progreſſes among them, and all the infidel nations they have taken under their charge throughout all America; and conſequently that near all large and ſafe harbours which may be diſcovered in the reduced parts, a ſettlement be made of Spaniards with a fort and garriſon, and that likewiſe in the moſt convenient part towards the center of their province there may alſo be a Spaniſh town as a check to the Indians and refuge to the miſſionaries in caſe of an inſurrection. And as the tranſporting of families from hence to thoſe Spaniſh colonies, would be attended with great trouble and expence, beſides the want of them for other ſettlements, it is thought proper that theſe emigrations ſhould be made from the city of Mexico and the neighbouring provinces; concerning which we expect the reports and informations required, that we then reſolve for the beſt. The council have farther propoſed to me, that in order to the more expeditious reduction of the Indians of the Californias,

lifornias, it would be very proper that the jeſuit miſſionaries ſhould enter the province on the ſide oppoſite to that by which thoſe at preſent there entered, that is by the north part where this province joins and borders on the continent; it having been diſcovered and aſcertained, that the province of the Californias is no iſland as was commonly believed, but a terra firma bordering in its upper or northern part on that of New Mexico; for by this meaſure its natives will be ſurrounded, or as it were inſulated without any paſſage, or inlet into the territories of other ſavage Indians; and all the miſſionaries proceeding along their ſeveral departments to the center of the province, the total reduction of it cannot fail of being very much ſhortened. But as to the accompliſhment of this project, it is thought to be of great conſequence, that in the miſſions of all the departments of Indians already reduced, the teachers ſhould be doubled; but it is abſolutely neceſſary to make a progreſs in the parts contiguous to the Indians not yet reduced: as beſides the advantages common to all, one of the miſſionaries may paſs through the territories of the infidels for converting them, and thoſe parts already peopled, not be without the neceſſary inſtructions; and never left without a proper perſon to watch every motion that has the leaſt tendency to treachery or revolt, of which there would be the greateſt danger, if theſe people were left to themſelves.

It is alſo proper, that in all the frontier parts already reduced, a guard of ſoldiers be ſtationed for the ſecurity both of the miſſionaries and Indians, and likewiſe for accompanying the miſſionaries into the territories of the infidels, being always under the direction of the religious, nor doing any thing unleſs directed by them: leſt by an indiſcrete chaſtiſement or excurſion they ſhould alarm the Indians: And by theſe methods it is hoped a great progreſs will be made in thoſe parts where the miſſions are eſtabliſhed. It is likewiſe thought proper that for advancing the reduction of this province by miſſions, they ſhould be extended to the ſouthward from the oppoſite part in order to meet thoſe which are carrying on to the northward; and that the meaſures above mentioned may be eaſily practiſed in the miſſions belonging to the ſame order among the highland Pimas in the province of Sonora, by doubling the miſſionaries in every converted diſtrict bordering on the infidel Indians; and allowing to thoſe religious a guard as above. Thus the miſſionaries among the highland Pimas proceeding to reduce the nations of the Cocomaricopas and of the Yumas, which reach to the north river, called alſo Colorado, near the place where it iſſues into the Californian gulf, the jeſuits, according to the former accounts, expecting to be well received by theſe nations; and founding a village of reduced Indians on the bank of the ſame river Colorado, they may eaſily paſs over to the other ſhore of California; and by their ſucceſs there with the Hoabonomas, or the Bajiopas, a docile and tractable people, they may there found another village for ſecuring the paſſage on both ſides the river, and a communication with the whole terra firma: and proceeding from hence to the ſouthward through the country of California to the ancient miſſionaries. With reſpect to the guard deſired in the miſſions of the highland Pimas, either the detachment ſtationed at Terrenate, or the other on duty at Pitiqui will be ſufficient, as it appears by the report of don Auguſtin de Vildoſoia, governor of the province of Cinaloa, that both of them are not neceſſary: but for the greater ſecurity the detachment at Pitiqui may remove to Terrenate, and that of the latter to the miſſions of the highland Pimas: and thus the proper guard both in the new and former miſſions of California, may be furniſhed without any additional expence to my royal revenue. It was alſo by the ſame council repreſented to me, that though the expence of miſſionary ſionaries ſhould be increaſed, it muſt be remembered that by a ſchedule of the year 1702, an order paſſed for aſſiſting the miſſionaries of California, with every thing conducive to their relief, and the accompliſhment of the work in which they were engaged; and by another of 1723, that the religious then officiating, or who ſhould for the future officiate in California, ſhould be allowed the ſame ſalary as thoſe of their order, and to be paid regularly and punctually, which hitherto has not been done; no expence having been incurred in theſe miſſions; nor have they received any allowance or ſalary. Fifteen miſſions, the preſent number in California, having maintained themſelves without the leaſt charge to me; purely by the liberal contributions of private perſons obtained through the zeal and intereſt of the religious of the order; and as the means propoſed will be attended with ſo little expence in compariſon of the prodigious advantage, it will be proper that all theſe orders be put in execution; or any others that may be approved by the jeſuits, who are beſt acquainted with the province, and from whom I expect farther accounts: and that from this preſent time they may ſpeedily be aſſiſted with all neceſſary ſums for the work out of the royal revenue, that the number of jeſuit miſſionaries may be augmented, it being neceſſary that two reſide in every reduced diſtrict bordering on the infidel Indians.

Laſtly, for this corroborating ſubordination, the pay of the ſoldiers is to be remitted to the miſſionaries, that they may receive it from their hands: and that if any ſoldier be of a turbulent diſpoſition and behaves amiſs, the miſſionaries may ſend him away and deſire another in his room, as without theſe and other precautions which ſome able miſſionaries have on ſeveral occaſions tranſmitted to me concerning theſe provinces, the guards have by their irregularities greatly impeded the reduction of the Indians, whom it is neceſſary to keep in awe and reſpect, that they may not attempt any treacherous practices, and at the ſame time treating them with kindneſs, to remove their miſtruſt, and reconcile them to the inſtructions of civil polity.

SECT. XXII.

Preparations at Mexico in purſuance of the foregoing royal orders. Endeavours for penetrating into the province of Maqui. Father Sedelmayer repairs to the rivers Gila and Colorado. The coaſt of CALIFORNIA as far as theſe rivers ſurveyed. Father Courſay's expedition againſt the Apates. Laſt accounts of the miſſions of CALIFORNIA, Sonora and Pimeria, till the year 1752.

The foregoing royal orders gave great ſatiſfaction to many of the inhabitants of Mexico, as they were an authentick teſtimony of the piety, prudence, and magnanimity of the monarch, and his attention to the publick welfare.

We have already obſerved that father Euſebio Franciſco Kino ſurveyed the whole northern country betwixt the province of Sonora and the rivers Gila and Colorado, and the weſtern port of the gulf of California, and found the coaſt entirely peopled by Indians, chiefly infidels; that he entered into terms of friendſhip with the ſeveral nations of thoſe vaſt countries except the Apaches; that he reduced them into villages; built churches; baptized many thouſand Indians; brought many more to a diſpoſition for receiving the faith; and paſſionately ſolicited a ſupply of miniſters for reaping that plentiful harveſt which was ripe for the ſickle of the goſpel: that the magnanimous prince don Philip V. ordered the uſual ſuccours and expences for eight miſſionaries to be employed in Pimeria and in thoſe parts of it which had been already reduced by father Kino: but from the impediments too uſually found at Mexico for diſburſements of that nature, only four aſſignments took place. By the death of father Kino in 1710, the great progreſs which that father, by his indefatigable zeal, had made towards a compleat reduction of theſe nations, came to nothing. Father Juan Antonio Balthaſar, whoſe papers we have before made uſe of part. III. ſect. V. and muſt now again have recourſe to, complained of the want of accounts in the year ſubſequent to the deceaſe of father Kino. All that the father could gather in his viſitation of the miſſions of Sonora and Pimeria relative to our preſent purpoſe is, that father Auguſtin de Campos, miſſionary of San Ignacio and companion to father Kino ſurvived him twenty five years; during which he imitated his real labours and benevolence in the care of his miſſion. In the year 1720, new miſſionaries came to Conception de Caborca and Tuhutama; and afterwards going to the rancherias of San Edvardo de Baipia, San Louis de Bacapa and San Marcelo lying far north, they found a great defection among the Indians; the little churches built by father Kino in ruins, and the cultivation of the fertile plains in which they had been inſtructed by that admirable perſon utterly neglected. Theſe nations now, though for what reaſon is unknown, go by the name of Papagos. In Guebavi and San Xavier del Bac the depravation was ſtill greater, having been above twenty years without miſſionaries. The biſhop of Durango, don Benito Creſpo, with extreme fatigue perſonally viſited his immenſe dioceſe; and perceiving the great want of labourers in Pimeria, and the importance of forwarding its reduction, he requeſted of his majeſty to aſſign three more miſſionaries for it, and accordingly the proper orders were iſſued. Conformable to which, in the year 1731, three jeſuits retired thither with a very large quantity of preſents ſent by the prelate to be diſtributed among the Indians. Thus in high Pimeria, were formed ſeven miſſions which are as follows:

1. Dolores with two villages of viſitation.
2. San Ignacio alſo with two villages.

3. Tibutama with nine villages.

4. Caborca with four villages.

5. Suamca with ſeveral rancherias.

6. Guebavi with Spaniſh farms and a conſiderable number of Indians.

7. San Xavier del Bac has alſo a great number of Indians.

The marquis de Villa Puente, who died at his return from Rome, in the imperial college of Madrid in February 1739, left by will a ſum of money for the foundation of two other miſſions in Pimeria; yet even in the year 1749, they had not been erected for want of jeſuits in the province of Mexico, and the war had hindered a ſupply being ſent from Old Spain.

Such was the ſtate of Pimeria under ſeven miſſions actually exiſting, and two other endowed; when, in the year 1742, a ſchedule from his majeſty Philip V. arrived at Mexico, requiring the viceroy to recommend to the ſociety the reduction of the province of Moqui, and to furniſh it with every thing neceſſary out of the treaſury. The ſuperiors of the ſociety, however deſirous of paying obedience to the orders of his majeſty, were now under an impoſſibility of complying for want of labourers, eſpecially in an enterpriſe ſo remote and arduous. The province of Moqui joins to the north weſt part of the kingdom of New Mexico; its inhabitants had been wholly converted and reduced by the zeal of the Franciſcans; but in 1680, they apoſtatized; and after maſſacring the perſons who inſtructed them, revolted, together with the other Indians of New Mexico. The fathers however, after inexpreſſible labours, reſtored tranquillity and religion in that kingdom: but all their diligence could not overcome the obduracy of the Moquinos, who for many years oppoſed all offers of their coming among them. But from the flattering hopes of entirely reducing them, and the great importance of ſecuring New Mexico from invaſions on that ſide, a ſchedule was ſent in the year 1723, to the viceroy, the marquis de Caſa Fuerté enjoining him to endeavour the reduction of Moqui. The viceroy concerted with the biſhop of Durango, who was of opinion that this difficult enterprize ſhould be put into the hands of the ſociety.

The biſhop had not hitherto performed his viſitation, and therefore was not well acquainted with the country. The Franciſcans could enter Moqui from New Mexico on its weſtern ſide, without any other impediment than the ignorance and brutality of the Indians. But the only places from whence the jeſuits could enter it were Sonora, and upper Pimeria. Moqui indeed lies to the northward of the miſſions of Tibutama, Guebavi, and others of Pimeria:

but the diſtance between Tbutama and the river Gila is not leſs than eighty leagues, and all inhabited by Indians, with whom indeed a friendſhip has been concluded, but the far greateſt part of them are declared infidels. Next to theſe are the ſavage Apaches, implacable enemies to the Spaniards, and all Indians connected with them. Beyond theſe the Moqui inhabit an extenſive, but mountainous country. Conſequently there was no direct way for the jeſuits to penetrate into this province; and therefore the attempt could only be made either through the country of the Sobaypuris, or Pimas now called Papagos, extending along the river Gila to the country of the Cocomaricopas, who were profeſſed infidels, and perpetually at war with the Nijoras, Cocomaricopas ſelling their Nijoran priſoners to the Pimas; and theſe to the Spaniards. It muſt alſo be remembered, that beſides the great number of miſſions already under the care of the jeſuits, and moſt of them on the frontiers of the infidels, the Marquis de Valero the viceroy had five years before, namely in 1718, charged them with the reduction of Nayarith, a province incloſed within the Sierra Madre, and only two hundred leagues from the capital of Mexico. And their labours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that the chief of that nation came to do homage to the viceroy; adorned with the mantle, thali, bracelets, collar, crown of feathers, and other ornaments uſed by the ancient Chichimeca kings. Such an important reduction was not therefore to be deferred, leſt they might alter their minds and rebel. It is true the Franciſcans were alſo employed in the miſſions of Junta de los Rios, two hundred and fifty leagues north eaſt of New Mexico, lately founded and vigorouſly carried on by the zeal of the duke de Linares, viceroy of Mexico. Theſe were of equal importance as lying near the French poſſeſſions of Miſſiſippi and Louiſiana. From theſe and other obſtacles, all deſigns on Moqui were ſuſpended. But the new order in 1742, ſtrictly recommending the reduction of that country to the ſociety, father Ignacio Keler miſſionary of Santa Maria Suamca was ordered to make the firſt attempt. This father in the preceding years, had been ſeveral times as far as the river Gila, both to viſit his neophytes and to keep up a friendſhip with the Indians who were enemies to the Apaches. But in September 1743, he ſet out from his miſſion with a very ſmall guard, a Spaniſh juſtice, whoſe diſpleaſure he had incurred by protecting his Indians, not allowing him to take any more: and to this the miſcarriage of the enterpriſe was entirely owing.

The father came to the river Gila, and continued his journey ſome days further to the northward, till he came among rancherias of a different language, and the people quite unknown. The Indians had not the courage to inſult the ſtrangers in the day-time, but in the night they attacked them for the ſake of plunder; and it was with great difficulty that ſome horſes were ſaved to facilitate their return; one of the ſoldiers alſo was killed by an arrow. The father however was for continuing his march; but his Indian attendants beginning to leave him, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to his miſſion. The following year 1744, orders were ſent to father Jacob Sedelmayer miſſionary of Tubutama that being leſs expoſed to the barbarians, he ſhould proceed on this diſcovery: he was directed to take guides, ſend meſſages to the Moqui, and, in caſe he found any Franciſcan miſſionaries ſettled there, he ſhould exhort the inhabitants of the country to love and obey them; and then withdraw: if he met with none, he was to take a careful ſurvey of theſe parts, draw up an account of his journey, and delineate a map of the country; but not to involve himſelf in any known danger.

Accordingly, in October, the father ſet out from his miſſion, and after travelling eighty leagues, reached the river Gila, where he found ſix thouſand Papagos, and near the ſame number of Pimas and Cocomaricopas dwelling in different rancherias. Here he was well received, having before contracted a friendſhip with them. Among theſe, as before, he met with ſeveral axes and knives, diſtributed among them by father Kino: he informed them of his deſign of going to Moqui, and at firſt they voluntarily offered to direct him in the way and accompany him; but ſoon after began to ſhew their diſlike of the enterpriſe, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed to embark in it. The true cauſe of this change in their behaviour, was partly owing to the Tibutamas in his company, who being a people void of courage had very unwillingly attended him in ſo long a journey; and partly to the Cocomaricopas, who grudged the little preſents they carried to be diſtributed among the Nijoras and Moquis. But there was alſo another reaſon for their change of behaviour, namely, a fear leſt the Spaniards ſhould enter into friendſhip with theſe two nations; when, in caſe of a war, they would be utterly defenceleſs, being ſituated between them, and the Cocomaricopas were always at variance with the Nijoras; the Moquis likewiſe ſhewed themſelves ſometimes on their frontiers in an hoſtile method, though at other times they viſited them in a peaceable manner. This precaution may perhaps appear too rational and provident for ſuch ſavage nations. But we muſt acknowledge that there is no community without its political myſteries and reaſons of ſtate: and that in all parts mankind are well or ill governed, in proportion to the culture of the mind. However this be, the father tried every method to purſue his march, but found on all ſides unſurmountable difficulties, unleſs he would have opened a way by force, which was contrary to the orders he had received, and incompatible with his profeſſion.

But that the expedition might not be entirely fruitleſs, he with the free conſent of the Cocomaricopas, took a view of the whole territory they inhabited on each ſide of the Gila, went into the inward parts of their country, and returned from thence to the river Colorado, and the country of the Yumas, who were enemies of the Cocomaricopas, though in all appearance a branch of their nation: for the interpreter who accompanied the fathers, ſufficiently underſtood the language of the Yumas. The original narrative of father Sedelmayer's journey, and the map which was to be annexed to it, have never come to my hands; both I own would have been of great uſe to me in compoſing the map at the front of this little work;

but the ſubſtance of it is to be found in the New-Theatro Americano, and in the abovementioned papers of father Balthaſar, which agree in ſubſtance as being written by thoſe who had before them the ſame memoirs, and of which they have made a very faithful uſe. What is certain from both is, that the banks near the ſource of the Gila are inhabited by the Apaches; at ſome diſtance below which that river is joined by the Azul, which is thought to iſſue from the mountains, and waters the pleaſant and fruitful country of the Nijoras, till its influx into the Gila. Afterwards on both ſides of this river, there is an uninhabited tract of about twenty leagues, at the end of which are three large rancherias of Pimas, the greateſt of which called Judac, occupies fourteen leagues of a pleaſant fertile country, well watered by means of trenches which, the country being level, are eaſily carried from the Gila. Twelve leagues farther towards the north eaſt, is the new diſcovered river of de la Aſſumption, compoſed of two rivers, namely, el Salado and el Verde; which in their way to the Gila run through a very pleaſant level country of arable land, inhabited by the Cocomaricopas who are ſeparated from the Pimas by a deſert, though united to them in conſanguinity. Their kingdom is bounded on the weſt, by a deſert and mountainous country,

try, extending to the rancherias of the Yumas, who live along the river Colorado, but below its junction with the Gila. Over this deſert, the Cocomaricopas paſs to the river Colorado, though there is a much ſhorter way by the conflux of the two rivers.

Acroſs this deſert they led father Sedelmayer, who it ſeems did not viſit the abovementioned junction of the rivers, which father Kino ſaw, and gave it the name of San Dionyſio; nor did he know any thing of the Achedomas, who according to Kino inhabit its eaſtern ſhore northward from its junction with the Colorado. The Yumas though their idiom differs very little from that of the Gila Cocomaricopas, are inveterate enemies to them: but on the weſtern ſide of the Colorado, there are likewiſe rancherias of Cocomaricopas allied to thoſe of Gila; and living in a valley thirty ſix leagues in length, and for the ſpace of nine leagues remarkably fertile and pleaſant, cultivated for kidney-beans, calabaſhes, melons, and other eſculent vegetables; and by their induſtry well watered. Here they ſaw ſome Indians croſs the river with their families and proviſions in batteaus, and found in them all that courteous and liberal diſpoſition for which father Kino commends them, though at firſt the Yumas ſhewed ſome aſtoniſhment at the viſit, being the only one ſince the time of that friendly miſſionary. From theſe accounts, it was apprehended, that by means of ſeven or eight miſſions along the Gila, two among the Colorado Cocomaricopas, an additional one among the Sobaypuris, and another in San Ambroſio del Buſanic, together with thoſe already founded in high Pimeria, the entire reduction of the nations of the Pimicas and Papabotas or Papagos might be accompliſhed.

It was alſo the unanimous opinion of the fathers, that this reduction ſhould be vigorouſly attempted, as opening a paſſage to the Moqui, and being an effectual barrier againſt the continual hoſtilities of the Apaches: and in order to this they thought it would be proper, that father Sedelmayer, who had lately taken that fatiguing ſurvey ſhould repair to Mexico. Accordingly, that indefatigable father again chearfully ſet out on a journey of five hundred leagues to the capital, where he had the pleaſure of finding the provincial engaged in drawing up the report which had been required by his majeſty, concerning the miſſions of Pimeria and California. He had beſides the pleaſure of ſeeing that the ſentiments and ſchemes of the provincial, abſolutely agreed with his own, even before he had been heard, but much more when he came to ſhew the ſolidity of his propoſals,

poſals, by a narrative of his recent diſcoveries. The provincial, from the accounts which had been communicated to him concerning California, and theſe new lights he now received, relating to Pimeria, drew up his report with all poſſible perſpicuity, and with the candour due to the munificent intention of ſuch a monarch. As the report, or memorial, expatiates on many particulars, of which we have already taken ſufficient notice, we ſhall only add the following abſtract of it.

The provincial begins with obſerving, that no ſettlement of Spaniards can be made in California along the coaſt, nor up the country; nor have the fathers been able to accompliſh any ſuch thing, during the ſpace of fifty years, by reaſon of the extreme barrenneſs of the country, the qualities of which he deſcribes, there being a neceſſity of maintaining the greateſt part of the natives, whereby not only the products of their lands, but likewiſe the contributions of the miſſions, on the other ſide, and that ſent by the four rivers of Cinaloa are conſumed. That tho' in Monte Rey, and Cabo Mondocino, the ſoil is more fertile, it would be very difficult to proſecute the reduction on the north ſide, both on account of its barrenneſs, and the want of labourers. And for theſe reaſons, the fifteenth miſſion from that of San Ignacio, which till then had bordered on the infidels, had no fixed ſtation. Beſides, the miſſions could not be at a great diſtance from the garriſon, and extend themſelves along the weſtern coaſt of the ſea, as they could not there receive any ſuccours without previouſly reducing the nations on the eaſtern coaſt of the gulf: and in order to this, it was neceſſary firſt to ſecure the conveyance of proviſions from the oppoſite coaſt of Caborca, on the continent of New Spain, which had as yet been but ſuperficially ſurveyed, and the creeks and harbours never ſounded. The coaſt alſo is ſteep, and the greateſt part of it without water; beſides, being inhabited by Seris and Tepocas, but very imperfectly reduced; and the town of Caborca lying 22 leagues up the country, a ſecond new bark was neceſſary; the firſt being employed in bringing from Matanchel and Yaqui to Loretto and La Paz, the appointments and neceſſaries for the miſſion, and the products of Cinaloa; and there was no poſſibility that ſhe could likewiſe ſerve as a tranſport in the more inward and tempeſtuous part of the gulf. Thirdly, it was neceſſary to augment the garriſon of Loretto, thirty ſoldiers not being ſufficient for guards and ſettlements ſo remote, as the firſt new miſſion was to be near 50 leagues N. of San Ignacio; that every thing was poſſible to the king, but the charge would be great. For theſe reaſons, without forgetting previouſly to aſſiſt California, he propoſed the conqueſt of the highland Pimeria, as a country of eaſy acceſs, level, well peopled, and, about the Gila and Colorado, very fertile. For as lower California could not ſubſiſt without Cinaloa, ſo upper California could not ſubſiſt without Pimeria. This conqueſt would facilitate that of Moqui, in caſe it ſhould not ſucceed, by the way of New Mexico; and would be a check upon the Apaches, or at leaſt forward the reduction of them. In order to this, all that was required, with regard to the ſociety, was that the diſmiſſion which it had made of twenty-two miſſions, in the dioceſe of Durango, the Indians of them being perfectly converted, and reduced into villages, might be allowed; and that the number of jeſuits ſhould be greatly increaſed, both to act in the remaining miſſions, and to double the miſſionaries in the frontiers: that the father general ſhould grant his licence to great numbers of perſons in Europe, who were paſſionately deſirous of being employed in ſuch worthy functions; that he ſhould cauſe the gulf to be again ſurveyed by the jeſuits for aſcertaining whether California was united to the continent of New Spain; this being doubted of at Mexico, tho' not in Europe.

The father obſerved, that the allowance of three hundred dollars to miſſions ſettled, near 600 leagues diſtant from Mexico, was too little, eſpecially at the beginning, the carriage of neceſſaries amounting to half the ſum: that the garriſon of Pitquin could not at preſent be ſpared for an expedition to the river Colorado; for tho' the Yaqui and Maya nations were now quiet, yet as the meaſures taken to pacify them were diſagreeable, they might poſſibly on the removal of the garriſon break out into a ſecond revolt. This garriſon is on the ſouth bounded by the Yaquis; northward it joins to the Seris and Tepocas, who are either infidels, or imperfectly reduced; and tho' father Salva Tierra civilized them, and the miſſionaries have baptized many, they ſtill retain ſuch a love for their liberty and cuſtoms, as all the labours of the miſſionaries have not been able tò obliterate; ſo that it is impoſſible to incorporate them with the miſſions by mildneſs. On the other hand, the barrenneſs and want of water, in moſt parts of the country, will not admit of any miſſion being ſettled amongſt them: his majeſty therefore may order his miniſters to draw them by preſents to the villages, or a miſſion to which they may all repair, may be founded in ſome fertile ſpot. But whether the one or the other can be done without the protection of a garriſon, is impoſſible to be known. The removal of the garriſon of Terrenate appeared ſtill more inconvenient. For if notwithſtanding this garriſon, which had been erected by the viceroy, as duke of the conqueſt, the inſolence of the Apaches, thoſe invaders of Sonora, was at ſuch an height, what might not be apprehended, if the province was left defenceleſs from Colorado, to the garriſon of Coro de Guachi de Fronteras? For this reaſon it appeared, that the garriſon, which hitherto had been ambulatory, and without any fixed poſt, might be conſtantly ſtationed among the Sobaypuris, in the miſſion of Santa Maria de Suamca: as thus its numerous Indians may be inſtructed, and led againſt the Apaches; and, to the ſame purpoſe, a detachment of twelve or fifteen ſoldiers may be ſent to do duty as guards in the miſſion of San Xavier del Bac. Laſtly, it ſeemed moſt adviſeable to the provincial, that a new garriſon ſhould be erected on the banks of the river Gila, within the territories of the Apaches: and, inſtead of fifty, to conſiſt of one hundred ſoldiers; for being in their country, and not on our frontiers, a greater number was required; that, at the ſame time, ſome might attend to military duties, and the cultivation of the ground, and others march into the enemy's country, bring them to peaceable terms, or diſperſe them. Thus all the countries, under the dominion of the king, would be incloſed as in a circle; by the concurrence of the garriſons, the ferocity of the Apaches would be quelled; the reduction of the territories of the Moqui be facilitated, and all the intermediate country being likewiſe brought to terms, the conqueſt would be extended to New Mexico; the peaceable nations, along the Gila and Colorado, the Sobaypuris, Pimas, Papagos, Cocomaricopas, and Yumas would be ſheltered; a door would be opened for propagating chriſtianity, on the other ſide of theſe two rivers; and, what is not of the leaſt conſequence, a paſſage opened to California by land. The erection of ſuch a garriſon at firſt, would be more expenſive than the preſent meaſures; but, all things conſidered, it would be the cheapeſt; as in a ſmall ſpace of time the greateſt part of thoſe chargeable garriſons, now ſubſiſting, would be rendered uſeleſs, and, conſequently, might be ſpared. For this garriſon alone, would accompliſh that which experience has convinced us is impoſſible to be done by all the others.

Theſe were the principal heads of the father's report; and thoſe which the prudent zeal of the king recommended to the examination of his viceroy, with orders to enter upon the execution of what he ſhould think moſt proper, without any further warrant. It will doubtleſs ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that in this report, nothing is propoſed particularly in favour of California; but the eſtabliſhment of a new miſſion on the coaſt of the gulf, in the neareſt part poſſible to the Colorado, if properly ſeconded, on the oppoſite coaſt of Caborca, would have greatly facilitated the deſired communication by land between the miſſions of both coaſts: beſides, the commerce of the miſſion, with the coaſt of Caborca, in order to obtain ſupplies, and the communication of one with the other ſide of the gulf, would have tended greatly to contract an acquaintance between the inhabitants of both ſhores; at the ſame time, the ſeveral channels, iſlands, rocks, ſand banks, ſhoals, and the dangerous paſſages of Sal-ſi-puedes, and moſt of the Seris and Tepocas would have been frequented by ſea; and the inhabitants civilized, and inclined to renew their faith, by means of this tranſitory intercourſe from California; and, conſequently, have ſubmitted to the mild yoke of the goſpel, if, inſtead of being violently forced from their coaſt, a regular trade were carried on with them, according to the earneſt deſire of the father Salva-Tierra, part III. ſect. IX. Beſides, the miſſionaries in the north of California, by being aſſiſted by a bark or two more, a greater number of ſoldiers, and the opportunity of receiving their proviſions directly from the other coaſt, without waiting for the ſlow ſupplies from Loretto, which, after a long voyage, are ſubject to a very chargeable land carriage, might have penetrated thro' the whole country, to the river Colorado, on one ſide, and to the famous Puerto de Monte Rey, on the other. After which, when the country behind them was intirely reduced, what difficulty would attend the forming at Monte Rey, from the Philippines, or New Spain, a large and ſplendid colony, or garriſon? With how much greater eaſe might the miſſionaries, ſoldiers, or inhabitants of the colony, go from thence to the river Colorado, or the Gila, to the country of the Apaches, the Maqui, or new Mexico? But the provincial contented himſelf with only propoſing the conqueſt of Pimeria, as the moſt eaſy and leaſt expenſive; tho' the whole conqueſt would not have been attended with ſuch valuable conſequences as the ſingle colony at Monte Rey, and the garriſon of a hundred ſoldiers on the Gila, in the territory of the Apaches. And this was the opinion of the illuſtrious don Martin Elizacoechea, biſhop of Mechoacan, who, while he filled the ſee of Durango, viſited, with infinite labour, the whole dioceſe. Father Juan Antonio Balthaſar, who, as viſitor of the miſſions, had ſeen the whole country, adds, that by this meaſure, beſides the abovementioned conveniencies, the deſires of fathers Kino and Sedelmayer of building a city in thoſe remote countries, might have been fulfilled, which would have firmly cemented theſe conqueſts with his majeſty's other dominions in thoſe parts: for the country is ſo fertile, and at the ſame time has ſo many rich mines, that a garriſon here would ſoon have increaſed into a populous town, every inhabitant of which might have been inſtructed in the duties of a ſoldier. Beſides, why ſhould not the Apaches, at ſeeing the ſeveral advantages of ſettlements made in their countries, be diſpoſed to peace, as was the caſe with the Chichimicas, once ſo brutal and outrageous, eſpecially if treated with mildneſs and humanity. And to this may be added, the example of a virtuous life in the Spaniards; which doubtleſs would follow from the reflection of individuals, the inſtitution of magiſtracy, and his majeſty's royal proclamation againſt immorality of every kind.

Whilſt theſe reports were ſending to Madrid, and his majeſty's final reſolution expected at Mexico, the father provincial Eſcobar ſent circular letters by father Juan Antonio Balthaſar, viſitor general of the miſſions, directing every miſſionary to ſend a ſhort account of his miſſion, its beginning, progreſs, and preſent condition, in order to lay before his majeſty. He alſo directed, that a freſh ſurvey ſhould be taken by ſea of the coaſts of the gulf of California; and likewiſe that the new entrances ſhould be attempted towards the Gila. The miſſionaries of California accordingly drew up their narratives, and of them we have made uſe in the compilation of our work. Beſides what has been already inſerted, I ſhall add that in the year 1745, the miſſions, viſitation-towns, and miſſionaries in California were as follows:

I. Nueſtra Senora de Loretto, in 25° 30 min. alſo the royal garriſon, and the place where the barks deliver their lading. The miſſionary father Gaſpar de Truxillo.

II. San Xavier.—Father Miguel del Barco.—Its villages or towns are

1. San Xavier, in 25°. 30 min.
2. Santa Roſalia, 7 leagues W.
3. S. Miguel, 8 leagues N.
4. S. Auguſtine, 10 leagues S. E.
5. Dolores, 2 leagues E.

6

6. San Pablo, 8 leagues N. W.

III. Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores del Sur, formerly San Juan Baptiſta Malibat, or Liguí.—Father Clemente Guillen.—Villages—

1. Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores, 24°. 30 min.

2. La Concepcion de Nueſtra Senora.

3. La Incarnacion de el Verbo.

4. La Santiſſima Trinidad.

5. La Redempcion.

6. La Reſurrecion.

IV. San Luis Gonſaga.—Father Lamberto Hotel.—Villages—

1. San Luis Gonſaga, in 25°.

2. San Juan Nepomuceno.

3. Santa Maria Magdalena, in the bay of its name.

V. San Joſeph de Commondu—without a miſſionary, on account of the death of father Franciſco Xavier Wagner, on the 12th of October 1744, in the interim, ſerved by father Druet.—Villages—

1. San Joſeph, in 26°.

2. Another village, 1 league W.

3. Another, 7 leagues N.

4. Another, 10 leagues E. on the ſhore.

VI. Santa Roſalia Mulege.—Father Pedro Maria Naſcimben.—Villages—

1. Santa Roſalia, in 26°. 50 min.

2. Santiſſima Trinidad, 6 leagues S. S. E.
3. S. Marcos, 8 leagues N.

VII. La Puriſſima Concepcion.—Father Jacobo Druet.—Village—

La Puriſſima Concepcion, in 26°.

It has ſix other villages, within 8 leagues round Cabecera, or metropolis of the miſſion, the names of which are not enumerated.

VIII. Nueſtra Senora de Guadalupe.—Father Joſeph Ctaſteige.—Villages—

1. Nueſtra Senora de Guadalupe in 27°.
2. Concepcion de Nueſtra Senora, 6 leagues S.
3. San Miguel, 6 leagues S. E.
4. San Pedro and San Pablo, 8 leagues E.
5. Santa Maria, 5 leagues N.

IX. San Ignacio.—Father Sebaſtian de Siſtiaga.—Villages—

1. San Ignacio, in 28°.
2. San Borja, 8 leagues.
3. S. Joachin, 3 leagues.
4. S. Sabas, 3 leagues.
5. San Athanaſio, 5 leagues.
6. Santa Monica, 7 leagues.
7. Santa Martha, 11 leagues.
8. Santa Lucia, 10 leagues.
9. Santa Nynfa, 5 leagues.

X. Nueſtra Senora de los Dolores del Noite.—Father Fernando Conſag.

This miſſion was joined with that of San Ignacio, and cultivated by the fathers Siſtiaga and Conſag: within its diſtrict, which lies 30 leagues from S. Ignacio, and in the latitude of 29°. were already five hundred and forty-eight baptized Indians.

XI. Santa Maria Magdalena, begun in the N. by the ſame father Conſag, who wrote concerning it to the father provincial Joſeph Barba, yet no convenient place for its ſeat was to be found, tho' the converted Indians were as well diſpoſed, and as regular as thoſe of San Ignacio.

XII. San Jago del Sur.—Father Antonio Tempis.—Villages—

1. San Jago, in 33°.

2. The anchoring-place of Santa Maria de La Luz.

3. The anchoring-place of San Borja.

XIII. Nueſtra Senora del Pilar de la Paz. Of this miſſion no account came to Mexico, nor of the others which had been reſtored in the S. which are,

XIV. Santa Roſa, in Palmas bay.

XV. San Joſeph del Cabo de S. Lucas, the ſtation of the new royal garriſon.

XVI. San Juan Baptiſta, begun in the N. and at the ſame time it was ardently deſired that another new miſſion might be founded in the

N. at the village of San Juan Baptiſta; and accordingly ſeveral entrances were made, eſpecially by father Conſag for preparing the minds of the Indians; but there was neither a fund for endowing it, ſoldiers for defence, nor miſſionaries.

Whilſt father Conſag was thus employed, he received an order to prepare himſelf for taking a ſurvey of the coaſts of the gulf. This ſervice he had been particularly ſelected for, being in a very eminent manner poſſeſſed of all the talents neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe. The difficulties were very great; as he wanted every thing neceſſary towards the execution of it. But, as that father obſerves, "the importance and conſequence of this neceſſary ſervice ſurmounted them all." The miſſions, conſidering this work to be equally advantageous to the ſervice of chriſtianity, and his majeſty, tho' labouring under great difficulties themſelves, contributed to defray the neceſſary expences of boats, ſeamen, proviſions, and every other requiſite ſuggeſted, by thoſe who knew the dangers of ſailing on ſeas, and viſiting coaſts unknown, and inhabited only by ſavages. They alſo put on board a certain number of chriſtian Cochini, furniſhing them with cloathing and arms. Every thing being thus in readineſs, father Conſag left Loretto, accompanied by don Bernardo Rodrigues la Larrea, a ſon of the worthy capt. don Eſtevan Rodrigues Lorenzo, often mentioned in this hiſtory; and arriving at the ſhore of San Carlos in the lat. of 28°. he embarked with his men in four boats, on the 9th of June, 1746. The captain did not accompany the father in this voyage; but he procured him a canoe, and took the moſt effectual meaſures for ſucceſs. Within a few days, the melancholy news arrived, that the Indian ſavages of the coaſt had murdered the father, ſoldiers, ſeamen, and Indians, and pulled the boats to pieces. The captain, at hearing this ſhocking account, was for going immediately in a canoe, with an armed force, to San Carlos; but the fathers oppoſed it till the news ſhould be confirmed, ſuſpecting it was only a fiction of the Indians, as it afterwards proved to be.

Father Conſag, with his body of men, took an accurate ſurvey as far as the river Colorado, as may be ſeen in the father's original journal, at the end of this work, for the ſatiſfaction of the reader, and to animate others to undertake the like laborious taſks, by ſhewing that thoſe who employ their talents for the benefit of ſociety, will not fail of receiving the honours they deſerve. In the new Theatro Americano may alſo be ſeen a curious extract of this journal. All that we ſhall at preſent obſerve, or rather repeat is, that in this voyage, it was evident, beyond all poſſibility of doubt, that California is a peninſula, joining to the continent of New Spain; and that the extremity of the gulf, is the river Colorado, which divides the former from the latter.

Whilſt the ſociety, in obedience to the royal orders, were employed in theſe difficult attempts, other meaſures were likewiſe taken by the viceroy. The reſignation of the twenty-two miſſions, in the dioceſe of Durango, was admitted, as now they were only a weight on the ſociety, furniſhing no opportunity for that labour which exerts itſelf in extending the doctrines of chriſtianity. The flying garriſon of Terenate was fixed at San Phelipe de Jeſu Guevavi, according to the Theatro Americano, in which an account of it is given under that name; and ſuppoſes it to have been erected there before the year 1748, when that work was printed at Mexico. Guevavi is ſituated among the Sobaypures in a fine well watered plain, abounding in wood and paſtures, tho' not remarkable for its plenty of other products; at a ſmall diſtance from the territories of the Apaches, and within a few leagues of the miſſion of Suamca, the place where father Eſcovar propoſed it ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

This garriſon conſiſts of a captain, lieutenant, enſign, ſerjeant, and forty-ſeven ſoldiers. What contributed to haſten this undertaking was the univerſal complaint of the whole province of Sonora, which was under continual alarms, on account of the depredations of the Apaches; and theſe, ſince the year 1740, were ſo frequent and open, that the name of Apache is now commonly given to every infidel or apoſtate who acts as a declared enemy. The Apaches, here intended are thoſe within the circular tract of ground extending from the river Chigagua, by the garriſon of Janos Fronteras, Anterenate, or Guevavi, to the Gila. It is bounded on the north, by the country of the Moqui and New Mexico; on the eaſt, by the garriſon of Paſſo; and on the ſouth, by the garriſon of Chigagua. Within this circuit of three hundred leagues the Apaches reſide in their ſmall rancherias, erected in the valleys and the breaches of mountains. Their country is alſo of very difficult acceſs, from the cragginefs of the mountains, and the ſcarcity of water. According to ſome priſoners who have been ranſomed, they are extremely ſavage and brutal; they have very little cultivated land, nor does their country ſupply them with any plenty of ſpontaneous productions. They are cruel to thoſe who have the misfortune to fall into their hands; and among them are ſeveral apoſtates. They go entirely naked, but make their incurſions on horſes of great ſwiftneſs, which they have ſtolen from other parts, a ſkin ſerving them for a ſaddle. Of the ſame ſkins they make little boots or ſhoes of one piece; and by theſe they are traced in their flight. They begin the attack with ſhouts, at a great diſtance, to ſtrike the enemy with terror. They have not naturally any great ſhare of courage; but the little they can boaſt of, is extravagantly increaſed on any good ſucceſs. In war they rather depend on artifice than valour; and on any defeat ſubmit to the moſt ignominious terms, but keep their treaties no longer than ſuits their conveniency. His majeſty has ordered, that if they require peace, it ſhould be granted; and even offered to them before they are attacked. But this generoſity they conſtrue to proceed from fear. Their arms are the common bows and arrows of the country. The intention of their incurſions is plunder, eſpecially horſes, which they uſe both for riding and eating; the fleſh of theſe creatures being one of their greateſt dainties.

Theſe people, during eighty years paſt, have been the dread of Sonora, no part of which was ſecure from their violences. Our people have occaſionally obtained ſome advantages over them; but the actions were not general, and conſequently not deciſive. Of late years the inſolence of theſe ſavages has been carried to the moſt audacious height, from the ſucceſs of ſome of their ſtratagems, principally owing to the variances and indolence of the Spaniards. In one of theſe, capt. Eſcalante, who had ſerved in that quality in California, loſt his life. The like unhappy fate attended the laſt captain of the garriſon at Coro de Guache de Fronteras, don Juan Baptiſta de Auſa, tho' famous for his valour and conduct, and with him fell a great many private men. The Apaches penetrate into the province by difficult paſſes; and after loading themſelves with booty will travel in one night fifteen, eighteen, or twenty leagues. To purſue them over the mountains, is equally dangerous and difficult; and in the levels they follow no paths. On any entrance into their country, they give notice to one another by ſmokes or fires: and at this ſignal they all hide themſelves. The damages they have done, eſpecially ſince the death of the brave capt. Auſa, in the villages, ſettlements, farms, roads, paſtures, woods, and mines, are beyond deſcription; and many of the latter, tho' very rich, have been forſaken. Out of the twenty-four miſſions of jeſuits in Sonora and Pimeria, twenty are expoſed to the incurſions of the Apaches, which is likewiſe the fate of the pariſh of Nacoſari, and part of the garriſon of San Juan Baptiſta, the capital of the province, the only two where ſecular prieſts officiate. Hence ariſes the difficulty of communicating the neceſſary inſtructions to the Indians; as there is no continuing for any time at the rancherias, nor can they, without great danger, come to the ſeats of the miſſion: and this occaſions a neceſſity of bearing with many of their irregularities; and the unhappy conſequence is the impoſſibility of bringing the new chriſtian communities to a life of devotion and polity as in other parts.

In the year 1747, the viceroy having conſulted with the marquis de Altamira, ſecretary at war, determined to give the Apaches ſuch a blow as ſhould not ſoon be forgotten. Accordingly ſtrict orders were iſſued that each of the garriſons of New Biſcay, Paſſo, New Mexico, Janos, Fronteras, and Terrenate or Guevavi, ſhould ſend thirty ſoldiers; and that this corps ſhould be augmented by the Spaniſh militia, and as many armed Indians as could be procured; and all at one time enter the country of the Apaches, and ſeek them in their ſecret retreats. The jeſuits of Sonora not only

encouraged

ouraged the Indians of the miſſions to join he expedition, but contributed horſes, pro- ons, and money. However, at the time ointed, the governor of New Mexico did arrive, being ſuddenly obliged to turn his s againſt ſome neighbouring Indians, who e fortunately diſcovered, when on the point executing a ſanguinary deſign. Thoſe at a ater diſtance tho' unwilling ſeparately to r an enemy's country, joined, and pene- ed a great way into it, without meeting ſo ch as a ſingle Indian. For the Apaches ng informed of the intended expedition, t ſo good a watch, that they withdrew as troops approached; and whilſt the loyaliſts e roving about the country to no purpoſe, y fell on Sonora, now quite defenceleſs, ing, plundering, ravaging, and deſtroying ry thing they met with. Nor was this all; Indians endeavoured to penetrate as far as qui; but were obliged to abandon the at- npt, for want of proviſions.

Thus the expedition, which was intended to uce the Apaches proved abortive; the ex- nces were loſt, the contributions of Sonora erted to foreign views, itſelf left more ex- ſed, and leſs capable of defence, the enemy ring by their ſucceſs, and our people alie- ed from ſuch expeditions for the future.

However, in the year 1748, preparatives were made for a new campaign; and to the ſoldiers and Spaniſh militia, were added three hundred Apatas, and the like number of Pirnas, whom the fathers had again fitted out to the beſt of their power. Their rendezvous was at Coro de Guachi de Fronteras, where they were incommoded by the rains which fall in November and December, the time appointed for their march. They viſited the mountains of Chigagua, the uſual retreat of the ſavages; but were ſo far from finding any Apaches, that they could not even diſcover any veſtiges of their having been there, the melting of the ſnows having obliterated their tracks. In their retreat they met with a rancheria, where they killed a few of the enemy, and made ten priſoners. Such was the whole reſult of an expedition which had made ſo much noiſe in America. Providence, however, thought proper to bring about an event, which human addreſs had attempted in vain. For ſome of the Apaches, terrified at the extraordinary preparations of the Spaniards, came to the garriſon of Janos petitioning for peace, and the liberty of ſettling near the miſſion. At the ſame time another troop came with the ſame intention to Fronteras, adding a requeſt, that the father would pleaſe to inſtruct them:

and, tho' they were but few in number, and their pretenſions little to be depended on, they were readily admitted, that theſe might prevail on others to follow their example.

A month before the laſt expedition, namely, in October 1748, father Sedelmayer made another progreſs to the river Gila, in which he again travelled thro' the territories of the Papagos, and viſited the Pimas of Gila; from thence he continued his journey among the Cocomaricopas, and afterwards to the Yumas their enemies, who inhabited the weſtern banks of the river Colorado; returning on the left or E. ſide, till within a few days journey of it's diſcharge into the gulf, where he ſaw other rancherias of Yumas. Theſe Indians ſeemed amazed at the ſight of the father and his guards, not having the leaſt remembrance of father Kino, who viſited that country about forty years before. They ſhewed a ſtrong inclination for pilfering ſome trifles; but were afraid to attempt it. The father expreſſed a deſire of paſſing the river,,but as the other, or weſtern, ſide was inhabited by the Quiquimas, who were enemies to the Yumas, the latter were diſpleaſed at his intention of viſiting their enemy's country; and refuſed to aſſiſt him. Theſe and other difficulties the father met with, from a great part of his eſcorte, laid

him

him under a neceſſity of returning to the miſſion of Tubutama.

In February the following year 1749, the father intended to make another progreſs; and in order to execute it with the greater ſecurity, waited the arrival of the governor of Sonora, that he might make the moſt effectual proviſions for it: but whether it was attended with ſucceſs or not, I am not able to ſay, no account of it having been ſent to Europe.

About the ſame time the infidel Seris and Tepocas, who lived in the mountains along the coaſt of the gulf, animated by the example of the Apaches, renewed their hoſtilities in that province with an extraordinary boldneſs, which obliged his excellency the viceroy to haſten the meaſures for removing them from their barren ſhores, and incorporating them with the former miſſions. This was under deliberation in the beginning of the ſame year 1749: for in May father Balthaſar ſent his papers to Europe; and in them he ſays, that from the meaſures taken by the viceroy for their emigration, there were great hopes of civilizing and reducing them into communities. Thoſe orders were doubtleſs dictated by the greateſt foreſight and wiſdom; but the effect it ſeems was not anſwerable, as father Sigiſmund Taraval, in a letter written at Guadalaxara,

laxara, in the year 1751, ſays, that the Seris had that ſame year, in the laſt miſſion of Caborca, murdered the fathers Thomas Tello, and Henry Rohen; tho' even then the circumſtance of the revolt of the Seris, nor of thoſe murders were known at Guadalaxara. Father Thomas Tello, a native of the town of Almagro, arrived from Mexico at the miſſion, in the preceding year 1750; and purſuant to the royal orders, appointing two miniſters in every frontier miſſion, was nominated collegue to father Rohen at Caborca. Father Juan Antonio Balthaſar, in a letter of the 27th of February 1752, ſays, that by the ſame opportunity he ſends to Europe an account of the tranſactions of the two laſt years in Pimeria; and another of a new entrance made into California in the year 1751; but never having come to my hands, I am deprived of the ſatiſfaction of communicating thoſe accounts to the publick. In the mean time it becomes us to hope that the blood of the miniſters of the goſpel, which has been ſpilt in California will cry powerfully to heaven for the complete reduction of theſe unhappy ſavages, now involved in the ſhadow of death; and that it will infallibly fix the eſtabliſhment, propagation, and ſecurity of the chriſtian religion in thoſe extreme parts of the globe.

P 2

On both ſides, in Pimeria and California, a door is now opened for ſpeeding the goſpel. On the north ſide of both are vaſt countries, inhabited by infidel nations, who never have heard of chriſtianity, and the glad tidings of ſalvation it offers to the human race. And, ſurely; it is an undertaking highly conformable both to the dictates of humanity, and the precepts of the goſpel, to convert ſuch multitudes of the human ſpecies, from their brutal and enormous vices to the paths of virtue and religion.

A
NATURAL and CIVIL
HISTORY
OF
CALIFORNIA.

PART IV.

APPENDICES to the account of CALIFORNIA.

INTRODUCTION.

THAT the account of California, which I now ſubmit to the publick, may be as complete and uſeful to the Spaniſh nation as poſſible; I have added to what is ſaid in the beginning of the firſt part of its geographical ſituation, the moſt authentick accounts hitherto known concerning its eaſtern and weſtern coaſts, and junction with the continent, the ſubject of ſuch long conteſts; and likewiſe the accounts we have of the adjacent iſlands, land, and ſeas, theſe having a natural and political connection with California. The reaſon of this is ſufficiently evident: California, conſidered in itſelf, is the moſt diſagreeable, barren, and wretched country in the world. But notwithſtanding theſe diſagreeable particulars, the conqueſt of it from the firſt diſcovery of the new world in Cortes's time, has been attempted with very great expences to the crown of Spain: and at length this deſired reduction has been accompliſhed by the jeſuits: and our ſovereign has lately taken the moſt effectual meaſures towards the completing of what may be wanting in this enterpriſe; as we have already related in the preceding parts. But it may be aſked on what account is California of ſuch importance to the crown of Spain, and the Spaniſh jeſuits its ſubjects? whence this mighty concern about it? wherefore is its conqueſt preferred to that of many other countries of both Americas, like it inhabited by infidel ſavages; countries in a milder climate, rich and fertile; countries which might be reduced and held at a much leſs expence; and in which a much greater number of ſouls might be brought within the boſom of the church?

It is my duty to give all poſſible ſatisfaction to theſe reaſonable queſtions: and this is indeed the principal intention of the 4th part. I anſwer the firſt in general: It is the advantageous ſituation of California which renders it ſo valuable. This makes the conqueſt of it preferable to that of any other country in America. Though ſo wretched and poor, its ſituation alone renders it more important than all theſe, both with regard to the propagation of religion, and the good of the ſtate. Add to this, that if the expenſive endeavours and repeated attempts of the Spaniſh nation for the conqueſt of California in the two laſt centuries were juſt and prudent, the nation has at preſent much more powerful and weighty motives for this enterpriſe than the former, which however ſtill ſubſiſt.

The proof of theſe aſſertions may be partly collected from ſeveral paſſages in the former parts of this work; and partly from what we ſhall offer in this 4th part. California has an eſſential connection with the provinces contiguous to it, and belonging to the continent of New Spain. The American coaſts on the South ſea, from cape de Corientes, and even from Acapulco itſelf northwards, are not ſafe, whilſt California remains in the hands of ſavages, and under no ſubjection to the Spaniſh crown. The inhabitants of theſe coaſts cannot follow the rich pearl-fiſhery in the gulf of California, nor can the provinces from Acapulco to the river Colorado carry on any maritime commerce. The mean canoes of the Californians are not indeed much to be dreaded, but California has ſeveral times been a ſhelter for privateers and pirates, who have from thence ſcoured all thoſe ſeas, taken a great many Spaniſh ſhips, diſturbed the whole commerce of the Pacifick ocean, and filled thoſe remote provinces with alarms. What would be the conſequence ſhould any European power ſettle colonies, and build forts on the coaſt of California. Admiral Anſon according to the account of his voyage, was of opinion, that if he could have made himſelf maſter of Baldivia on the coaſt of Chili, he ſhould have been able, with that advantage, to have made the vaſt empire of Peru tremble. Though this be the only conjecture, it cannot be denied but that if any foreign power ſhould find means of building fortifications in California and maintain its ſuperiority there, the empire of Mexico would be in the utmoſt danger.

California is alſo of equal importance for enlarging the king's dominions in North America. We have ſeen that the jeſuit miſſions have not only reduced the rich provinces of Culiacan, Cinaloa Oſtimuri, Yaqui, and Sonora;

but hav. likewiſe penetrated to the bay and upper Pimeria, even to the great rivers of Gila and Colorado, and taken a ſurvey of the Moqui provinces adjacent to new Mexico. What remains is to reduce the Papagos, Guaimas Tepocas, and Seris, who inhabit the extreme coaſt of new Spain on the gulf of California, and, as we have related, not long ſince revolted, murdered their miſſionaries and joined with the lawleſs Apaches. The reduction of theſe Indians will always be very difficult, if the entrance among them be made on the land ſide, but very eaſy by paſſing from California to their coaſts, as father Salva-Tierra has ſufficiently proved.

If the miſſions and Spaniſh ſettlements are intended to be carried on towards the north of America with ſafety and regularity, they muſt not only be joined to the reſt with New Mexico; but extended from the latter beyond the rivers Gila and Colorado to the furtheſt known coaſts of California on the South ſea; that is to Puerto San Diego, Puerto de Monte-rey, the ſnowy mountains, cape Mendocino, cape Blanco, San Sebaſtian, and the river diſcovered by the marquis de Aquillar in forty three degrees. With what expedition might this corqueſt be carried on, were the miſſionaries to go at one time along each ſide of the gulf of California, reducing the interjacent nations till they all met on the banks of the river Colorado; and proceed jointly from thence till they arrived at the abovementioned coaſts, harbours, capes, and rivers on the South ſea? How much more, if, at the ſame time, the northern Californian miſſions on the South ſea were extended from the coaſt of San Xavier and the iſlands of los Dolores in 28 deg. lately ſurveyed by father Taraval, to the aforeſaid harbours of S. Diego de Monte Rey, and the others where the miſſionaries of California and Pimeria, who had joined at the rivers Colorado and Gila, were to conclude their progreſs?

The immenſe diſtances from Mexico of theſe two rivers and the provinces they water, and eſpecially of the countries near Monte Rey and Mendozino, render it impoſſible to ſupply, by land, the miſſionaries and the other Spaniards with cloaths, utenſils, and neceſſaries. It is therefore requiſite to open a maritime communication, by erecting forts near all the harbours on the coaſt of the South ſea, between the latitude of 30 and 40 degrees: and alſo in the gulf of California to the mouth of the river Colorado at the 33d degree of lat. Without ſuch proviſions for a maritime communication, the miſſions in theſe remote provinces can be by no means maintained; much leſs Spaniſh colonies, towns, villages, and farms be erected. But if

California and the reduction of it be relinquiſhed, how can theſe improvements be made? How can harbours be diſcovered, and entrances made either on the gulf of California, or the coaſts of the South-ſea? and were theſe improvements made by entering only on the ſide of Pimeria and Sonora, into the provinces lying on the weſt ſide of the river Colorado, how could they be able to maintain themſelves for any conſiderable time, while the whole peninſula of California was inhabited by infidel and ſavage Indians? Thus California, by its ſituation, has been, and ſtill is, of the higheſt importance for the preſervation and advancement of the chriſtian religion, and the augmentation of the Spaniſh ſovereignty in America.

It may perhaps, to ſome ſeem a very indifferent affair, whether his majeſty's dominions be extended to the river Colorado and cape Mendocino, and the reaſons for making and maintaining ſuch a conqueſt may poſſibly appear extravagant. But with regard to the firſt, in all great undertakings, the general plan is to be formed immediately, though the execution of it may prove a work of time. A nation acting without a plan, in purſuit of any end, is ſeldom known to reap the advantages which would neceſſarily in time flow from it.

Secondly, experience has ſhewn, that within the ſpace of a hundred years, the jeſuit miſſions and his majeſty's dominions in North America are extended from Cinaloa in 20 degrees to the rivers Colorado and Gila in 35. The Sierra or mountains of Topaia and Tarahumara, together with Nayarith have already been reduced. The ancient miſſions of the Parral, Parras Tepehuanes, Cinaloa, &c. And a tract of 300 leagues of California, frem cape San Lucas to near the 30th degree of lat. have likewiſe been ſubdued: and all this has been performed ſince the middle of the laſt century; and with very little aſſiſtance from the government in any of theſe enterpriſes.

But if the conqueſt and preſervation of California, has been, and is eſſential to the advancement and ſecurity of the catholick religion, and the Spaniſh dominions in the other provinces of America, it is equally advantagious to the Philippine iſlands and their commerce with new Spain. It is not neceſſary to form ſo many political ſchemes for the navigation and commerce of the South ſea, as cardinal Alberoni ſeems to imagine. One ſingle galeon performing annually one voyage from Manilla and Acapulco, and back again, is found to be ſufficient; but without this commerce, thoſe rich, populous, and commodious iſlands could not be preſerved, though they are far from being improved to the greateſt advantage. We have ſeen that this ſhip is under a neceſſity of putting into ſome port in her voyage; that this can only be done in California; that for want of ſuch a port great numbers of Spaniards have periſhed by the length of the voyage, even in time of the moſt profound peace: laſtly that this galeon has been ſeveral times taken by the enemy, who have ſheltered themſelves in California, within ſight of which ſhe muſt neceſſarily paſs. If therefore the Philippine iſlands be worth keeping, can the utility of reducing and ſettling California be any longer queſtioned? But beſides theſe motives there are others of equal ſtrength, and equally intereſting to religion and the ſtate. The Ruſſians, or Muſcovites, whoſe vaſt empire extends to the northern extremities of Aſia, and even near to the South ſea, are not only endeavouring to civilize the natives of thoſe countries, but are actually erecting forts and planting colonies; and have already made docks and arſenals in ſeveral parts, where they have built ſhips, fitted and mann'd them; taken ſurveys of their own coaſts, ſailed as far as the iſlands of Japan, and, croſſing the South ſea, landed in ſeveral parts of Spaniſh America.

In one voyage made in 1741, the Ruſſians landed on this very coaſt in the latitude of 55 degrees 36 minutes, not above 12 degrees from cape Blanco, the moſt northern part of California hitherto known. And is it not natural to think that the Ruſſians in future voyages, will come down as low as cape Blanco: and if California be abandoned by the Spaniards even as far as cape San Lucas? and we may well ſuppoſe that they who to-day take a view of the coaſts and country, may to-morrow determine to plant colonies there. The laſt Spaniſh garriſon on the Northern American coaſts of the South-ſea, is that of cape San Lucas at the ſouthern point of California, and to the ſouthward of the tropick of Cancer: and even this is but weak and lately ſettled. But along the immenſe extent of the coaſt northward, Spain has not one ſingle fortification. How ſhall we hinder the Ruſſians from making ſettlements there, unleſs we be beforehand with them? would it be proper that the Muſcovites ſhould become our neighbours and rivals, and eſtabliſh the Greek church in California?

The repeated attempts of the Engliſh for finding a paſſage to the South-ſea by the north of America and Hudſon's bay, are known to all the world. The laſt was undertaken in the ſpring of the year 1753. If they ſhould one day ſucceed in this, why may not the Engliſh come down through their conqueſts, and even make themſelves maſters of the provinces of New Mexico, Moqui, the rivers Gila and Colorado, Pimeria, Papagos, and Apaches; and laſtly of the northern part of California itſelf, which borders on our miſſions and garriſons in the north of America. The publick papers have informed us that the Engliſh had a deſign of croſſing the South-ſea from the Eaſt Indies, erecting fortifications, and making ſettlements on the coaſt of America above California towards Hudſon's bay; that is, in thoſe very parts which the Ruſſians have viſited. Whoever is acquainted with the preſent diſpoſition of the Engliſh nation, and has heard with what zeal and ardour the project for a North-weſt paſſage has been eſpouſed by many conſiderable perſons, will be convinced that the ſcheme is not romantick; and it would not be ſurpriſing if the execution of it ſhould one day come under deliberation. If this ſhould ever happen, I would aſk, what would be the condition of our poſſeſſions? would the faith of treaties be a ſufficient protection? Jamaica, Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, New York, Penſylvania, Newfoundland, and the other provinces of that nation in America were diſcovered by Spaniards; and for a long time made part of our dominions: yet at preſent they are in the hands of the Engliſh; and with equal eaſe may they ſettle on the coaſts on the north of California, unleſs we prevent them by attempting the reduction of it, without delay. I therefore beg leave to repeat it that in all times, but eſpecially at preſent, the conqueſt of the poor and barren province of California has been conſidered as of the utmoſt importance to religion and the ſtate; and more deſirable than that of many happier countries in America.

It ſhould be remembered that we have already ſhewn the ſituation of California itſelf, of Sonora, Pimeria, and other provinces contiguous to it, and the continent of New Spain. All that remains therefore to be done is to add the moſt authentick memoirs exiſting both ancient and modern, relating to the two coaſts of this peninſula: and this is the intention of the firſt appendix in this fourth part, which contains a ſhort deſcription of Gomara; the voyage of captain Sebaſtian Vizcaino in the year 1603; the laſt ſurvey of the gulf of California, to its furtheſt extremity the river Colorado in 1746, by father Fernando Conſag: and laſtly the ſhort deſcription of the famous Engliſh navigator capt. Woods Rogers. Next to theſe is the account given of California in the voyage of the Engliſh commander George Anſon, eſq; ſince raiſed to the peerage; and wherein he mentions the commerce of the Philippines, and of that which he ſuppoſes theſe iſlands carry on with California: this will give us an opportunity of correcting ſeveral pernicious miſtakes; and of forming in the reader's mind the moſt ſalutary ideas for the good of religion and the ſtate, without any regard to the temporal intereſt of the ſociety.

APPENDIX I.

A ſhort deſcription of the outward coaſt of CALIFORNIA by Gomara.

IN order to ſhew what was moſt certainly known concerning the outward coaſt of California, before captain Vizcaino's ſurvey, I ſhall lay before the reader the ſuccinct account given by Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, a careful writer, and whoſe geography Antonio de Herrera has chiefly followed, as an author of the beſt judgment and intelligence, obſerving only that what he calls Punta de Balenas is the point of California or cape San Lucas, but was then, both in books and maps called, by that name.

Extract from the XIIth chapter of the hiſtory of the Indies by Franciſco Lopez de Gomara.

From Mira Florez bay to the Punta de Balenas, by the way of Puerto Eſcondido, Belen, Puerto de Fuegos, and La Bahia de Canoas and Pearl iſland is above two hundred and twenty leagues. Punta de Balenas is under the tropick, and eighty leagues from cape Corrientes, and between theſe capes runs the ſea of Cortes, which reſembles the Adriatick, and is of a reddiſh colour. From the Punta de Balenas to Bahia del Abad, is one hundred leagues along the coaſt, and from the latter to cape del Enganno, which lies in about 30 deg. 30 min. lat. is one hundred more, though ſome make the diſtance greater.

From cape del Enganno to Cabo de Cruz, is about fifty leagues: from Cabo de Cruz to Puerto de Sardinas in 36 deg. is about one hundred and ten leagues. Along this coaſt are the Ancon de San Miguel, Bahia de los Fuegos and Coſta blanca. From Sardinas to the Sierra Nivadas or ſnowy mountains, is one hundred and fifty leagues; by the way of Puerto de Todos Santos, Cabo de Galera, Cabo Nevado, Bahia de los Pinos. The Sierras Nevados of the ſnowy mountains lie in 40 deg. and is the furtheſt country on this ſide inſerted in the maps. Yet the coaſt runs northward five hundred and ten leagues further to us, to include within this vaſt iſland both Labrador and Groenland.

APPENDIX II.

Narrative of the voyage of captain Sebaſtian Vizcaino in the year 1602, for ſurveying the outward or weſtern coaſt CALIFORNIA on the South-ſea.

The three volumes of the Monarchia Indiana, by father Juan de Torquemada, a learned Franciſcan, having been publiſhed at Seville in the year 1615, and a new edition at Madrid in 1725, it may be thought ſufficient to have referred the reader to thoſe books, without ſwelling the preſent work by a narrative of captain Vizcaino's voyage: but the copies of the firſt impreſſion are extremely ſcarce, the greateſt part of them having been loſt at ſea: and when that illuſtrious patron of literature Don Andrez Gonzalez de Barcia, privy counſellor, and one of the board of treaſury, was deſirous of having that valuable work reprinted, after all his diligent ſearch, could meet with only three copies of it in Madrid; and the impreſſion was made from that in the library of the imperial college of jeſuits, father Martin de Raxas having generouſly parted with it for that purpoſe. However ſince this ſecond impreſſion the books of the Monarchia Indiana are become ſcarce, and captain Vizcaino's narrative is eſſentially neceſſary towards an exact account of California: and though ſome readers will find here what they have already ſeen in father Torquemada's volumes, yet I ought not to deprive a much greater number, who have not that work, from the pleaſure of the peruſal, and who will be glad to have every thing relating to California collected here, eſpecially as this work is not intended only for European readers, but likewiſe for thoſe in America, who trade in theſe remote ſeas and countries where other books are not ſo eaſily procured.

I was extremely deſirous of finding captain Sebaſtian Vizcaino's narrative and the repreſentations of the council to his majeſty Philip III. eſpecially the maps, plans, charts of his voyage and diſcoveries, in order to communicate the whole to the publick. Accordingly at my requeſt ſearch was made in the ſecretary's office of the council of the Indies. But in this intention of being ſerviceable to the publick I have been diſappointed.

Extract

Extract from Lib. V. of the Monarchia Indiana, by father Juan de Torquemada.

In the reign of Philip III. and during the viceroyſhip in New Spain of Don Antonio de Mendoza, when the navigation to the iſles of Luzon, by us called the Philippines, was firſt diſcovered by ſome ſhips built at La Navidad, a town of New Spain on the coaſt of the South-ſea; theſe ſhips in their return near the lat. of 42 deg. perceived a point of land which they called Cabo Mendozino in honour of the viceroy, by whom they had been ſent; and keeping pretty near the ſhore, it appeared that from thence to La Navidad, was one continued Terra Firma. On their arrival at New Spain, they laid this diſcovery before the viceroy, who was deſirous that the whole coaſt as far as cape Mendozino ſhould be carefully ſurveyed at his own expence. But the perſon appointed to conduct it, could reach no farther than the harbour called San Jago, now La Magdalena in 25 deg. the continual N. W. winds rendering it impoſſible to continue his courſe any farther. His majeſty alſo was informed that other viceroys by his father's orders had attempted the ſame diſcovery, and had alſo failed, as will be related hereafter. His majeſty alſo found among other papers a narrative delivered by ſome foreigners to his father, giving an account of many remarkable particulars, which they ſaw in that country, when driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, from the coaſt of Newfoundland; adding that they had paſſed from the N. ſea to the S. by the ſtreight of Anian, which lies beyond cape Mendozino; and that they had arrived at a populous and opulent city, walled and well fortified, the inhabitants living under a regular polity, and were a ſenſible and courteous people; with many other particulars well worth a further enquiry. On the other hand, he was alſo informed that the ſhips in their return from China to New Spain, were in great danger; and that they met with very bad weather about cape Mendozino, and therefore for the ſafety of the ſhips, it would be highly proper to ſurvey the coaſt from thence to Acapulco, in order to provide a place on the coaſt for them to put in at, as they uſually belong to his majeſty. For theſe and other reaſons, he ordered the count de Monte Rey, viceroy of New Spain, to cauſe the diſcovery to be undertaken with all poſſible care and diligence, and at the royal expence.

Accordingly, count de Monte-Rey, deſirous of accompliſhing what his majeſty had ſo poſitively ordered, had recourſe to perſons, from whoſe knowledge and experience he might expect information, in order to purſue the beſt meaſures for this purpoſe. The method being reſolved on, the neceſſaries were prepared with the utmoſt care and diſpatch; and general Sebaſtian Vizcaino appointed captain-general for this voyage, as he had before acted in that quality in California. The admiral was captain Toribio Gomez de Corvan, both perſons deſerving the great confidence repoſed in them. For general Sebaſtian Vizcaino was at that time employed in the pacification and conqueſt of California: and was of all perſons in New Spain the beſt acquainted with that coaſt, having as we have already related gone on a diſcovery there in the year 1594: and was the moſt concerned that the diſcovery ſhould be made purſuant to his majeſty's orders, as it was carried on at his expence. For the better ſecuring the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, the poſt of admiral was conferred on captain Toribio Gomez, as a conſummate ſeaman, having ſerved his majeſty many years in cruſing ſhips; and in recompence of his fidelity and courage had been made captain of the Pataches, and entruſted with many affairs of conſequence, as appears from the papers and certificates which he preſented to the viceroy in teſtimony of his ſervices. He was immediately ſent to the provinces of Honduras and Guatimala in ſearch of two ſhips, having for aſſiſtants Sebaſtian Melendez, a land-officer, and Antonio Florez a pilot: the viceroy alſo ſent enſign Juan de Acevedo Texeda to Acapulco in order to get every thing ready there for the voyage, and to ſuperintend the building of a ſmall frigate. The general was directed to deliver in an account of what he ſhould want for the voyage, proviſions, ſtores, ſeamen, and ſoldiers: and was completely furniſhed with every thing. Three bare-footed Carmelites, namely, father Andrez de la Aſſumpſion, father Antonio de la Aſcenſion, and father Thomas de Aquino, were ordered to accompany him. And becauſe as Cicero ſays, great things are never accompliſhed merely by ſtrength and activity of body, unleſs conducted with the wiſdom and foreſight of prudent and experienced counſellors, the viceroy appointed captain Alonſo Eſtevan Peguero, a perſon of great valour and long experience, who had ſerved in Flanders, and alſo with Magellan; and captain Gaſpar de Alarcon, a native of Bretagne, diſtinguiſhed for his prudence and courage; and for ſea affairs ſeveral pilots and maſters of Ships; likewiſe captain Geronimo Martin, who went as Coſmographer, in order to make draughts of the countries diſcovered, for the greater perſpicuity of the account intended to be tranſmitted to his majeſty of the diſcoveries and tranſactions in this voyage. Every thing being thus provided, the count ordered don Franciſco de Valverde, agent for the treaſury at Mexico and likewiſe for the king's ſhips, to ſend to Acapulco what ſtores and money he had by him, and to pay the ſoldiers, who were all picked men, and formed one of the moſt ſightly companies ever raiſed in New Spain. The enſign was Juan Franciſco Suriano and the ſerjeant Miguel de Legar.

At the time of their departure, the viceroy called them together; and recommended to them the affair on which they were ſent, peace and amity among themſelves, obedience and reſpect to ſuperiors, and eſpecially to the religious, on whom he chiefly founded the hopes that their voyage would prove ſucceſsful. On the 7th of March 1601, the religious and captains ſet out from Mexico and arrived at Acapulco, where they were to embark on the 20th of the ſame month.

Every thing being in readineſs for the voyage, the general iſſued orders for all to repair on board the ſhips to which they had been appointed: this being punctually complied with, the Capitana, Almiranta, and the frigate ſailed from Acapulco at four in the afternoon on

Sunday the 5th of May in the year 1602, They had with them a barco longo for ſurveying bays and creeks and other ſervices inconvenient to ſhips of burden. After ſtanding out to ſea about two leagues, they took their departure and ſteered N. W. that being the direction of the weſtern coaſt. During the whole year a N. W. wind generally prevails all along this coaſt; and this proved a continual obſtacle to the voyage from the time of leaving Acapulco till they reached cape San. Sebaſtian, which lies beyond cape Mendocino, being continually at ſea, during nine months; during which time they underwent the greateſt hardſhips.

The wind being thus contrary, and blowing hard, there was no poſſibility of making any way unleſs by tacking, which is a very great fatigue to the men; and if the wind be freſh, and the currents ſet with the wind, inſtead of advancing a ſhip, drives to leeward. But when the wind ſeemed to render their progreſs impracticable, it changed in their favour, by which means the ſquadron reached Puerta de la Navidad, on Sunday the 19th of May at five in the evening. There was a neceſſity of putting in here, the ſhips labouring very much for want of ballaſt; the cargo not being of a weight proportionate to their burden and dimenſions. Beſides the Capitana had made a great deal of water, and there was a neceſſity for ſtopping the leak; all which was done with the utmoſt diſpatch, and at the ſame time both ſhips ſupplied themſelves with wood, water, and a quantity of proviſions, in which they met with no manner of difficulty or obſtruction, the country being a part of New Spain, and the inhabitants chriſtians. In this harbour the ſhips, which diſcovered the Philippine iſlands and cape Mendocino, were built. The galeons from China, before the diſcovery of Acapulco, uſed alſo to frequent this port. It is a very good harbour, has plenty of wood, and the neighbouring country pleaſant, abounding in all kinds of cattle and other proviſions. They however tarried here no longer than was requiſite for ſupplying themſelves with neceſſaries, ſailing from thence on the 22d, continuing their courſe under the ſame difficulties as before, and arrived at cape Corrientes on Whitſunday being the 26th. Here they took a ſurvey of the country, and then proceeded along ſhore; and on the 2d of June about noon, reached the iſlands of Mazathan. Theſe are two iſlands of a middling ſize, lying very near to each other, ſo that between them and the continent is a good rode into which a large river from New Galicia empties itſelf. This was the place where the celebrated Engliſh navigator ſir Thomas Cavendiſh careen'd his ſhip, while he was waiting for the return of the Chineſe fleet to plunder them. The Capitana and Almiranta came to an anchor in this rode to wait for the frigate, which ſoon after their leaving la Navidad had been ſeparated from them: but ſhe had got before them into the river. The general and admiral together with the religious and captains, went aſhore on one of theſe iſlands, where they found an infinite number of ſea birds, which breed there, their young not being then able to fly. They live chiefly on pilchards, ſardines, and other ſmall fiſh. Theſe birds are nearly of the bigneſs of geeſe, with a bill little ſhort of half a yard in length; their legs are long like thoſe of a ſtork; their feet and bill ſhaped like thoſe of a gooſe. Theſe fowls have a large crop, in which they keep their fiſh for their young, throwing them out upon the ground before them.

Here are alſo a great many wild goats and deer, together with a fruit which was found to be of great benefit to the ſick in their return, as ſhall be related in its proper place. The inhabitants of the continent here are chriſtians, and conſequently friends: and the country itſelf is called the province of Acaponeta or Chametha. Here the gulf of California along the coaſt of New Spain begins; and betwixt

30 and 40 leagues from theſe iſlands towards Cinaloa and Culiacan, the Rio Grande now called the Toluca, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, which is there called the river de Rarito.

The ſhips having found the frigate ſailed out that very ſame day, in order to croſs the mouth or arm of the ſea, betwixt the ſaid iſlands and cape San Lucas, which is the extreme point of the continent of California: the diſtance from ſide to ſide, being about 60 leagues; and on the 9th of June in the evening they made the land of California. As they were ſtanding towards cape San Lucas in queſt of an harbour, ſuch a thick fog came on, that for near a day and a half they had no ſight of each other; and the Almiranta was within fifty paces of a reef of rocks, from which ſhe was ſaved by a ſudden clearing of the fog, which I may call providential, as it laſted only long enough to ſhew the danger they were approaching, This happened about ſeven in the morning; at nine the ſun rarefied the fog ſo as to give a little light: by which means the Almiranta and Capitana had ſight of each other; and coming within hearing, orders were given to ſtand in for a bay near the ſaid cape, where to the great joy of all, they found the frigate at an anchor.

The ſquadron entering this bay on the feaſt of St. Barnabas, it was called after the name of that ſaint. As they were coming to an anchor near the ſhore and furling the ſails, they obſerved along the coaſt a great number of Indians naked, with bows and arrows in their hands, and ſome armed with ſpears; and who by their ſhoutings and throwing the ſand up in the air, ſeemed to be calling to the men in the ſhips. On this the general ordered the boats to be got ready; and that ſome ſoldiers ſhould take their arms, go aſhore, and get intelligence from the Indians, and alſo endeavour to know the meaning of their ſhouts and throwing about the ſand; accordingly the general, the admiral, the three religious, and ſome officers, went in the boats with twelve ſoldiers armed with their harquabuſes and lighted matches. When the boats were near the ſhore, the Indians ſeeing ſuch a number of armed people, retired in great conſternation to an eminence, in order to ſecure themſelves if the ſtrangers ſhould attempt any thing againſt them. All the people in the boats landed; but as they advanced towards the Indians, they retired; till father Antonion, de la Aſcenſion, in order to allure the Indians to a friendly conference, went up alone towards them; and by his ſigns and geſtures ſo far prevailed, that they ſtaid for him; and coming up to them, he embraced them all in the moſt affectionate manner. They laid down their arms on the ground, and intimated to him by ſigns to ſit down with them, and order the others not to advance unleſs they would lay down their arms as they had done. Father Antonio did as they deſired, and called to a negro to bring a baſket of biſket to diſtribute among them. They ſeemed greatly pleaſed at the ſight of the negro; and ſignified to him that they lived in friendſhip and correſpondence with a people of his colour; and that not far from thence there was a negro village. In the mean time the general and admiral laid their arms on the ground; and with the two religious came up to father Antonio. The Indians kept their ſeats, and accepted of the beads and toys given them, though not without ſome apprehenſion of an ill deſign; and with theſe little preſents retired to their rancherias very much pleaſed. After the Indians were gone, the general with the others walked about the country; where, not far from the ſhore, they met with a pond of clear and pleaſant water: and the day drawing now towards a cloſe, they retired to ſome rocks by the ſea ſide. Here they found a great quantity of ſardines and pilchards, which, flying from the large fiſh to the water's edge, had been thrown aſhore by the breakers. And theſe ſerved the people of the ſquadron that night, and the following day; when they found on the ſhore heaps of pearl-oyſter-ſhells, ſo ſmooth and glittering, by the reflection of the ſun, as to render the appearance of the ſtrand truly magnificent: and hence the great advantages which may be derived from the pearl-fiſhery, may in ſome meaſure be conceived. Under the above rocks the general ordered a large tent to be pitched for the reception of an altar; where during their ſtay, the religious daily ſaid maſs.

In this bay the ſquadron lay ſome days to wait for the change of the moon; repair the ſhips, and take in wood and water; and as every ſhip carried nets, the boats conſtantly went a fiſhing, the bay abounding with great variety, as ſoles, lobſters, pearl-oyſters, &c. The ſoil is very fruitful, healthy, and in a good climate; level and capable of fine improvements, abounds with rabbets, hares, deer, lions, tygers, wood-pigeons, and quails. Among its trees are the fig, the lentiſk, the pitahaya, &c. an infinite number of plum-trees, which, inſtead of reſin or gum, copiouſly emit a very fine and fragrant incenſe. As to the plums I never ſaw any but what were ſmall and green; and conſequently wanted the rich taſte of ours, though they who have been in California highly commend them: but what is more advantageous, ſalt-works might be erected here; there being a lake of ſalt-water formed by the ſea in the time of the S. E. winds, and it was then full of a fine clear ſalt: the Indians came to the tent where maſs was ſaid, and brought to the general and the ſoldiers, deer, lion, and tyger ſkins, cotton caps and little nets, curiouſly formed. Theſe Indians were naked, but faſtened in their hair every thing they met with which has a glittering appearance. Some mong them are red-haired. They dawb their bodies with black and white colours; are a cheerful, docile, courteous, and good natured people.

In this bay the Engliſh who took the St. Anne in her return from the Philippines ſome years ago, put the people aſhore, and after taking out of her all the goods, ſet her on fire, by which means ſhe was burnt to the water's edge: but the wreck being driven aſhore, the Spaniards went on board, and having thrown her ballaſt over-board, and erected jury-maſts, fortunately reached Acapulco. Theſe Spaniards it ſeems carried off by force an Indian woman, which the natives lament to this very day. And this was the true reaſon that they did not ſeem very fond of contracting an intimacy with the people of the ſquadron, leſt another misfortune of that kind ſhould happen: this I mention that proper care may be taken not to give offence to theſe people; as ſuch uſage muſt naturally alienate them from agreeing to terms of peace, or giving any credit to the Spaniards who preach the goſpel. Here part of the goods carried for the ſoldiers at the king's expence, was diſtributed among them to their great relief and ſatisfaction. In the mean time the change of the moon being paſt, with the appearance of fair weather, the general ordered every thing to be taken on board, and the ſquadron at midnight left the bay to continue their voyage; but they had not ſailed above three leagues, when it blew ſo hard at N. W. that the frigate not being able to keep the ſea, made again for the bay, whither the Capitana and Almiranta followed her, that ſhe might not be left alone. Three times the ſquadron ſailed out of the bay, and were often through the violence of the wind and the roughneſs of the ſea, obliged to put back. At laſt it was reſolved to leave the barco longo which the Capitana had in tow at the freſh-water lake in the bay, that ſhe might tack and work the more eaſily: and the wind being abated, and the ſea ſomewhat ſmoother, they again on the 5th of July ſet ſail, which was the fourth time;

and by continual tacking made ſome progreſs in their voyage, though the frigate could not keep company with the two ſhips, and was obliged to run in under the land.

In the mean time the Capitana and Almiranta ſtood off to ſea, till they loſt ſight of California, to try if they could make any way. Thus the frigate was left behind; and the people thought themſelves very happy in getting back to the bay. The Capitana and Almiranta ſuppoſing that the frigate would continue her voyage under the land, purſued their courſe by continual tacking; however they determined to make for the ſhore, to ſee if they could get ſight of the frigate; and coming near it on the 8th of the month, facing ſome highlands they were becalmed, that in a week they did not gain a ſingle league; and on this account they gave that high land the name of Sierra del enfado or Mount Tedious. This was not however wholly owing to the want of wind; but the currents were ſo ſtrong, that what was gained by one, was loſt by the other: but a particular circumſtance was, that when the wind lulled, the current ceaſed; and when it began to blow, the tides ran with their former rapidity. At laſt however, a delightful and moderate gale ſprung up, which carried the ſhips near to the harbour de la Magdalena, otherwiſe called

St. Jago, where ſuch a thick fog aroſe, that one man could not ſee another at the diſtance of ſix paces. The Capitana ſtood in for the land in order to take a view of that harbour, concluding that the Almiranta followed her; and finding it convenient, entered it on the 20th of the ſaid month. The Almiranta, to avoid running on any ſhoal or rock during the fog, ſtood from the land, that when it became light, the Capitana was not to be ſeen, nor was there any appearance of an harbour thereabouts: at laſt concluding that ſhe was ahead, the Almiranta continued her voyage: and thus they loſt each other, till they fortunately met again at the iſland of Cerros.

The Capitana as we already obſerved, ſtood into Magdalena harbour, ſuppoſing that the Almiranta would follow her. The very next day the general ordered ſome ſoldiers to aſcend a high mountain which commanded an extenſive view over the ſea, in order to look out for the Almiranta, and in caſe they ſaw her to make a ſmoke. Accordingly, they kept a large ſmoke all the day, the ſhip being all the time in ſight; but imagining the ſmoke to be made by the Indians, as they had done all along the coaſt, on ſeeing any ſhips, that the people might come aſhore, the Almiranta kept her courſe in queſt of the Capitana; looking into every bay, iſland,

or

or harbour, to ſee if they could find the Capitana which now was a great way behind. The general uſed many other endeavours for finding her out, but to no effect. The Capitana being thus alone on St. Magdalen's day, the father commiſſary and father Thomas ſaid maſs aſhore: and on account of this feſtival the bay was called la Magdalena; it is very ſpacious with ſeveral ſafe creeks, and anchoring places; has two entrances, and through it a wide arm of the ſea runs up into the country. Within this bay they found a weyer half a league in length, of large pieces of timber, which the Indians had made for their fiſheries. In the country round the bay were great numbers of Indians naked, and armed with bows and arrows; they were well made, and very ſociable. On their approaching the Spaniards, they offered them their bows and arrows in token of peace; they likewiſe brought frankincenſe, their country abounding with trees which produce it, being a ſort of plumtree. Within this bay is a ſmaller, abounding with excellent muſcles. But they could get no intelligence of any water, except in a cavity among the rocks; and what they had there was exceſſively bad: ſome caſks were however filled; but under extreme dejection on account of the Almiranta and the frigate.

We have already obſerved that the frigate had returned to St. Barnabas bay, without knowing any thing of the Capitana and Almiranta; but the wind being abated, ſhe ſailed a ſecond time in queſt of them; and coming near the land they ſaw a large bay, which they entered, hoping to find them there. This was one of the entrances which we have mentioned belonging to this bay: and here they met with great numbers of Indians peaceably diſpoſed, and as a ſign of it offered their bows and arrows to ſome of her people who went aſhore. But not meeting here with the ſhips they ſought, they returned the ſame way they came in, and called the bay Engannoſa, i. e. deceitful, on account of their diſappointment. This bay is now called el Puerto del Marques or San Jago. They kept coaſting farther on; and meeting with the other part of Magdalena bay, ſailed up it and there found the Capitana. The general having the frigate now with him, gave orders for leaving the place and going in ſearch of the Almiranta being certain that ſhe had proceeded on her voyage. Accordingly the Capitana and the frigate ſailed out of the bay on Sunday morning the 28th of July; and that the frigate might keep company, orders were given that the Capitana ſhould take her in tow.

About five leagues beyond Magdalen bay, a hard gale came on at N. W. which gave them a great deal of trouble: for ſtanding in towards a bay, the entrance appeared to be very dangerous, as they plainly ſaw breaches on both ſides, ſo that inſtead of entering it, they again ſtood off to ſea in queſt of the Almiranta. The whole coaſt beyond this place is level and pleaſant, and has only a few mountains in the inland country. On the 30th of July, they had ſight of a bay, which ſeemed to be formed there by the iſſue of a river. The general in order to have a certain account, ſent in the frigate to ſurvey it. But here again they were diſappointed by the breakers at the entrance, that on calling a council, it was determined to return and make a report of the obſtacle to the general. This ſpot or bay which is called San Chriſtoval, had been before ſurveyed by the Almiranta; which came to an anchor two leagues from it, and captain Peguero going in the ſhip's boat to view it, ſaw that it was a river, and that theſe breakers were occaſioned by the colliſion of the current of the freſh water with the flood of the ſea. For at thoſe breakers in the entrance there was above ſix fathoms water; and the Capitana would have gone in, had not the night been coming on apace. He therefore returned on board, not knowing what might happen before the morning, and made the above report. The bay was called San Chriſtoval from its being ſurveyed on the anniverſary of that ſaint, and the ſame night they continued their voyage, till they came to the bay called las Balenas, from whence the Capitana and frigate continued their voyage in ſearch of the Almiranta and alſo of freſh water, of which they both were now in great want. At a conſiderable diſtance they ſaw a large bay, into which the general ſent the frigate, in hopes it might ſuit their circumſtances: but on approaching, it was found to be as it were intercepted by ſhoals: and accordingly making a ſignal to the Capitana not to come nearer, they jointly proſecuted their voyage.

This bay alſo had been already ſurveyed by the Almiranta, who gave it the name of Bahia de Balenas or Whale bay, on account of the multitudes of that large fiſh they ſaw there, being drawn hither by the abundance of ſeveral kinds of fiſh. The vaſt flights of birds and fowls are alſo ſo great that they cannot be ſeen without aſtoniſhment both for their number and variety; and like the whales all prey on the ſmall fiſh. The country along the bay is pretty populous, and the inhabitants affable and friendly to the higheſt degree. They are alſo well-made and of a fairer complexion than any hitherto ſeen along the coaſt. The Indians preſented them with pearl-oyſters in nets of a very fine thread and curiouſly wrought; and were very deſirous of going to the ſhip: but the water was ſo rough, that they durſt not venture to ſwim off, nor the Almiranta's people to come aſhore, their boat being very ſmall. However enſign Acevedo and another ſoldier jumped over board, and ſwam aſhore to ſee the country. When they were landed, the Indians reached to them the nets with the oyſters on long poles, for they looked on the Spaniards as ſo many gods, and therefore did not preſume to touch them. The Indians gave them to underſtand that there was wood and water in the neighbourhood; and that the country was very large and populous with a great many towns: that ſeveral things might be purchaſed here for trading with the inland people, for they ſeemed to be fiſhermen, and carried their fiſh for ſale to the towns in the neighbourhood.

The Almiranta continued here two days, in hopes of better weather, that ſome armed men might be ſent aſhore for taking in water and wood, which they greatly wanted; and, during the whole time, the Indians kept continually on the ſhore, calling out to the people on board: but the agitation of the ſea not abating, the Almiranta ſailed away in queſt of ſome other place, where they might find relief in their preſent neceſſity. This was on the laſt day of July, and, proſecuting their voyage, came to the iſland of San Roque, about eight or ten leagues from the former bay. In the middle is a high ridge of mountains called de los Siete Infantes, i. e. of the ſeven children, there being ſeven different mountains in a chain.

The Capitana and tender proſecuting their voyage from the bay of Balenas, had on the 8th of Auguſt ſight of a bay which ſeemed favourable to their wiſhes; accordingly they ſailed up it, and came to an anchor; but ſome ſoldiers being ſent aſhore, in ſearch of wood and water, they found the country every where extremely barren, and therefore returned on board. Being diſappointed here, they continued their voyage, and, on the eve of the aſſumption, came to an iſland near the land, where the Almiranta had before anchored, and her people ranged the coaſt. But the Capitana ſeeing another iſland, two leagues further, ſtood towards it, without bringing to at the firſt, which was called La Aſſumpcion, and where the admiral arrived on the 5th of Auguſt. This iſland is of a middling ſize;

the ſoil ſandy and gravelly, and covered with ſea-gulls. In ſome creeks are an infinite number of ſea-wolves, as large as calves; and multitudes of different kinds of fiſh, that in an hour's time only with lines, two ſoldiers caught as many as the boat would carry, all wholeſome and palatable. The ſardines were particularly large and good. Here father Antonio celebrated maſs on the day of the transfiguration of our Saviour. After the ſervice was over, ſerjeant Miguel de Legar, with ſome of the ſoldiers, went in ſearch of water and wood, and facing the iſland where the Capitana had put in, they found a lake full of very good ſalt, and near it ſome pits or wells made in the ſand, ſome of which had freſh water, but that in others was brackiſh. The admiral, with his council, conſidering the great diſtance, and conſequently the difficulty, of watering there, it was reſolved to continue their courſe, in queſt of the iſland of Cerros, and the Capitana. Accordingly, on the 9th of Auguſt, the Almiranta ſailed from this iſland, father Antonio having previouſly taken a draught of it.

We have already intimated that the Capitana and tender came in ſight of the iſland of Aſſumpcion, but inſtead of coming to an anchor there, ſtood over to another iſland two leagues beyond it, where they came to an anchor on the evening of our lady's aſſumption, and called it La iſlar de San Roque. The day following the general ordered enſign Ferez Alarcon to go aſhore with ſome ſoldiers in ſearch of water; with him went enſign Martin de Aguilar, who, with indefatigable labour found the wells and the ſalt-pits, which the Almiranta's people had before met with; and to their great joy, they diſcovered ſome marks of the Almiranta's people having been there. From theſe wells they, with great difficulty from the great ſurge of the ſea, ſupplied themſelves with water. Whilſt the Spaniards were there, the Indians flocked down to the ſhore, and interchanged preſents with the Spaniards. The Capitana and tender having thus provided themſelves with water, ſalt, and wood, ſet ſail for Cerros, concluding her next trip muſt have been thither. In the continuance of the voyage, they paſſed by a very high mountain, at the diſtance of about twelve leagues from the ſea; but without approaching it. Here the Almiranta was detained by a ſtrong N. W. wind for about a week, from weathering a cape formed by this mountain; and in their tacking, they came every time within a ſtone's throw of this head-land and the continent. No kind of herbage or verdure was to be ſeen on this mountain, it being every where veined with a variety of colours, which exhibited a very beautiful appearance, and ſome of the ſoldiers, together with an experienced ſeaman of Peru, who had all ſeen mines, and worked in them, affirmed that this ſtupendous mountain conſiſted entirely of mines of ſilver and gold: and would the wind and the ſhore have permitted the boat to land, the admiral would have ſent ſome perſons to examine into the truth of this affirmation. At length the violence of the wind abating, they weathered the point, and made the beſt of their way for the mountain, or iſle of Cerros, going in betwixt the terra firma, and the ſmall iſland of La Natividad de Nueſtra Senora, and on the 19th of Auguſt came to an anchor cloſe under the iſland of Cerros.

The Capitana and tender did not meet with that obſtruction from the painted mountain as the Almiranta had; but entered a good harbour which they called San Bartholomew, three leagues on this ſide the iſland of Cerros. Here the general ſent aſhore enſign Alarcon and ſome ſoldiers in ſearch of water, but they found none, that country being extremely barren. Along the ſhore they indeed met with a kind of reſin, but being of an ill ſmell, they did not think it worth their while to take any of it with them. According to their account, it ſhould ſeem to be amber; but whatever it be there is enough to load a ſhip.

The admiral was for ſurveying this port, but night coming on, it was not thought ſafe; and as no water was to be found, the general gave orders for continuing their courſe; accordingly they left it the night of the 24th of Auguſt. Soon after they paſſed by the iſland de la Natividad without ſeeing it, and the next day found themſelves near the iſland of Cerros; but miſtaking it for the main land, they were for coaſting along it. It however pleaſed him whom the winds and waters obey, that in above nine days they were not able to double a point called Cabo de San Auguſtin. At length, tired with continual tacking, the general determined to run cloſe in under the land, where, he judged, he ſhould be ſheltered from the N. W. gale, and there come to an anchor, ſending the tender, with the coſmographer, Geronimo Martin, to take a draught of the country, and make a report. Thus, on the laſt day of Auguſt, he came to an anchor in the ſouth part of the iſland of Cerros.

We have already mentioned the Almiranta's coming to an anchor cloſe under the iſland of Cerros, on the 19th of Auguſt. The next morning, which was the anniverſary of St.

Bernard, admiral Toribeo Gomez, father Antonio, and captain Peguero, with ſome ſoldiers, went aſhore, in ſearch of water and wood; and in their ſearch came to a narrow path, full of the prints of mens feet; and following it up an eminence, they came to a ſpot overgrown with flags of a very bright green colour; and near them ſome traces of a rivulet which had lately run that way; and ſtill following the path, along a rugged valley, they found ſeveral wells of a brackiſh water, but ſuch as might be uſed in caſe of neceſſity. They ſtill followed the path which now led up a ſteep eminence, till they came to the higheſt part of the iſland. But deſirous of knowing whither the path would lead them, they followed it till they came to the ſea-ſide, near cape San Auguſtin, which we before obſerved the Capitana had never been able to weather, and as they ſaw no ſigns of water in any other part, they determined to dig wells near the others, which they did with inexpreſſible labour, and carried the water in caſks above half a league. After ſpending twelve days in this laborious work, the admiral and his council were of opinion, that the beſt way would be to ſail round the iſland, in ſearch of the Capitana. Accordingly, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, they got under ſail with that intent, ſtanding to the ſouthward, but they had ſcarce ſailed a league before one of the men diſcovered a ſhip at anchor, cloſe under the iſland; and ſoon after the whole ſhip's company perceived that the ſeamen were furling their ſails, as if ſhe had juſt let go her anchor. No event ever gave them more pleaſure, for they were convinced it was the Capitana: and at the ſame time father Thomas de Aquino, who was on board the Capitana, diſcovered the Almiranta ſtanding towards them, which ſpread a general joy through the whole ſhip's company. Nor is it poſſible to expreſs the congratulations on board both ſhips, when they came near each other. The Almiranta's company being aſked in the general's name what part they were in, anſwered, that it was the iſland of Cerros, that they had been waiting for them above twelve days, and that they had juſt returned from a cruize in ſearch of them. At this the Capitana's company were aſtoniſhed, having always taken the iſland for the main land; but their admiration was ſtill greater, when they turned their thoughts to the methods which providence had been pleaſed to take for bringing them together. On the Capitana's people declaring their want of wood and water, both ſhips returned to the place where the Almiranta had before laid at anchor. And the general immediately ordered a tent to be pitched ed on the ſhore for religious exerciſe during their ſtay; but the general, on going to ſee the wells, from which the Almiranta's crew had fetched him water, it appeared to him to be a work of ſuch infinite labour, that he ſent enſign Juan Franciſco, and ſerjeant Miguel de Legar with twelve ſoldiers to walk over the iſland, in order, if poſſible, to find out ſome ſpring or rivulet, nearer the ſhore. After a long ſearch among breaches, the ſerjeant, at two leagues diſtance met with a ſmall ſtream of freſh water, which ran into the ſea; on which the general ordered every thing on board, and the ſhip to ſtand in for the watering place, diſcovered by the ſoldiers; which was accordingly done, and a kind of a church erected for the three religious to officiate in.

Whilſt they were taking in water and wood, and the ſhip's company refreſhing themſelves, the general ordered the tender to make the circuit of the iſland, and look into a bay betwixt the main land and the country adjoining to the harbour of San Bartholome; and that father Antonio de la Aſcenſion, and the coſmographer ſhould go in the tender. Accordingly ſhe got under ſail, and from their obſervations it appeared, that the 30 leagues in circuit, and the ſummits of the higheſt mountains, covered with woods of pines and cedars, had a conſiderable number of inhabitants, but of implacable diſpoſitions; as inſtead of anſwering the peaceable ſigns made by the Spaniards, they ran to the mountains, and threatened to attack them with their bows and arrows; making ſigns for them to retire, and not preſume to enter their country. The tender afterwards went to take a view of the bay, which appeared like a large arm of the ſea; but running to a great length up the country to the eaſtward. They next ſurveyed the ſmall iſland of La Natividad, between which and the main land the Almiranta had paſſed; but this iſland is a mere deſert producing only a ſort of wild fennel.

After executing the general's orders, the tender returned to her former ſtation; and after taking on board water, orders were given for getting under ſail. Accordingly, on the 9th of September, the ſquadron left the iſland to proceed to that of de Lenizas, ſteering N. W. towards the main land; and on the 11th made the coaſt, which on their approach they found to be level and pleaſant; and ſeeing a bay, to which they gave the name of San Hyppolito, the ſhips came to an anchor in it. Here the general ordered ſome ſoldiers from the Almiranta and Capitana, under captain Peguero, and enſign Alarcon to go aſhore, and ſee what the country afforded; and to take with them nets, in order to fiſh at their return.

They found the country very fertile, and of a delightful appearance, and a broad beaten road, leading from the coaſt to the inland parts. They alſo met with a large hut, covered with palm leaves, and capable of holding conveniently fifty perſons. They alſo brought a-board with them a great quantity of excellent fiſh, called pexes reyes, of the ſize of the white fiſh of Mechoacan, and have the flavour and taſte of a ſardin. The general now gave orders for proceeding in the voyage, and accordingly betwixt eight and nine at night, they got under ſail.

Four leagues farther to the N. W. of San Hyppolito bay is another called San Coſme, and Damian, which the Almiranta had ſurveyed, while ſhe was in ſearch of the Capitana. It is defended from the N. W. winds; and not far from the ſhore, is a famous freſh-water lake. The country alſo is level, and makes a good appearance.

In the proſecution of the voyage, the ſquadron now ſaw all along the coaſt very large fires; a ſufficient indication that there were a great many Indian rancherias. The N. W. wind, all along that coaſt, is generally attended with ſevere weather; and it now blew ſo violently, that the ſquadron was obliged to run cloſe in with the land, under ſome lofty black mountains, on the top of which were large plains. Theſe they called Meſas de San Cypriano, or St. Cyprian's tables. S. E. of this ſierra, or ridge of mountains, were ſome white cliffs; and on them great numbers of Indians. The general therefore ordered the tender to ſtand cloſe under the ſhore, to diſcover what kind of people they were, and the coſmographer to take a draught of the country, whilſt the other ſhips lay to till her return. But the tender, on her coming under the high land, was becalmed. The following day the ſhips ſtood in near the land; but could get no ſight of her: and the N. W. wind beginning to blow with great violence, and the ſea of courſe very high, they were obliged to lie to for twenty-four hours; during which the Almiranta was near foundering.

In the morning they continued their voyage, in the beſt manner poſſible, but at noon the wind increaſed, and even blew with greater violence than in the night; and towards evening a thick fog aroſe, which in theſe ſeas is a certain preſage of bad weather. The general ſeeing that the Almiranta would be in great danger, altered his courſe to diſcover a place where they might come to an anchor; but had not the good fortune to find any. However, the next day the weather became fair with a gentle land breeze, by which they recovered what they had loſt during the ſtorm, and arrived off the Meſas, where the land forms a cape, near which the tender had left them. Here they were again overtaken by a moſt violent gale at N. W. attended with a thick fog, that the ſhips were obliged to lie to all night under their mainſails; and by the badneſs of the weather and the darkneſs of the night, the Capitana and Almiranta again loſt ſight of each other.

The reaſon for the uſual violence of the wind at this cape called el Enganno is, that the air is there contracted, in paſſing betwixt the cape and the iſland Ceniza, which lies about eight leagues E. N. E. from the main land of cape Enganno, which is divided in the middle forming two lofty round mountains of an equal height. It was diſcovered by the Almiranta, after parting company. But now the thick fog intercepted it from their ſight.

The Capitana being again alone, uſed every poſſible method for finding them; and even ventured to double cape Enganno; and by keeping as near the ſhore as poſſible, they found the tender; but having no ſight of the Almiranta,

ranta, they were under great apprehenſions that ſhe was loſt during the continuance of the ſtorm; and having on the N. W. of St. Cyprian's tables and cape Enganno found a good harbour, the general ordered the two ſhips to ſtand in for it. Accordingly, on the 3d of October, they entered the bay, to which they gave the name of Bahia de San Franciſco. In a rancheria they found onions and goats horns. The country is level and fruitful, and by the dung and other indications ſeems to have a great plenty of cattle and deer. The tender's men alſo reported, that a little farther they found a ſmall iſland which they called San Geronymo; and the general ordered ſome of the ſailors to go aſhore and take a view of it. Here they ſaw prodigious flights of birds, the iſland being almoſt covered with woods; and the ſhips plentifully ſupplied themſelves with cod and other fiſh. A little beyond this iſland there ſeemed to be a large bay with a very impetuous current both at the ebb and flood: and the general ſuppoſing there might be a large river at the bottom of it, ſtood in with both ſhips, in order, if it afforded a good harbour, to wait ſome days there for the Almiranta, which, if not loſt, muſt paſs near the mouth of it. The tender ſtood in firſt, ſounding all the way; but at the mouth of the creek found only three fathoms water, ſo that the Capitana did not think it adviſeable to venture in; but the tender ſailed over the bar, and found a very good harbour. Enſign Alcoran being ordered aſhore with twelve ſoldiers to look out for water and wood, found near the creek a great number of naked Indians, fiſhing in canoes made of thick and pliable flags which grow in the freſh water. The Indians came up to the Spaniards with the greateſt marks of friendſhip, gave them fiſh, and ſhewed them ſeveral wells of very good water which they themſelves drank of. Theſe wells were in a thick wood of willows and oſiers intermixed, with the flags of which the Indians made their canoes. This report was very acceptable to all on board, and the general ordered a tent to be pitched for the religious to ſay maſs; and while they waited for the Almiranta, they took on board wood and water and catched fiſh in abundance; though they had little occaſion for the latter, the Indians bringing them every morning more than they could uſe; and were ſo fond of the Spaniards, that they always kept near them. Nor would they go to the rancherias in the neighbourhood, without firſt aſking leave of the general and the religious. The Spaniards returned their courteſy with preſents of little value, which the Indians could not ſufficiently admire; and the report ſpreading through the country, an infinite number of them flocked to the ſhore: they eat with our people, and pronounced their language as if they had been natives of Spain. Whatever they ſaw done, they alſo did, and repeated any words they heard. The women were covered with ſkins of beaſts, behaved very decently, and the greateſt part of them had two infants at their breaſts.

Theſe Indians carry on a commerce with the people of the inland country; and in return for fiſh receive mexcalli, or maguey root boiled, and made into an admirable conſerve, and purſes of network very curiouſly wrought. Of theſe particulars the Indians thought they could never give enough to the Spaniards for a few beads and other toys. The Indians alſo intimated by ſigns that up the country there were great numbers of people cloathed, who had beards, and that they had alſo fire arms. Perhaps theſe were the people attending don Juan de Onnate then on an expedition to New Mexico; for according to the draught of the country and the diſtance of the meridians, and difference of climates in the maps by father Antonio de la Aſcenſion, the diſtance from thence to don Juan de Onnate's camp, could not be above two hundred leagues; but if this be not thought probable, the people mentioned by the Indians, muſt be a civilized nation living under a regular polity, and the people which the Indians of New Mexico mentioned as reſiding in thoſe parts.

The Capitana and tender having ſtaied in this bay the time propoſed, the general gave orders for putting to ſea, in order to look out for the Almiranta; accordingly ſhe got under ſail on the 24th of October; but as they were ſtanding out of the bay ſaw the Almiranta, which gave them the greateſt joy, not having ſeen her for twenty eight days, and had now given her over for loſt.

We have already related the manner of the Capitana's parting from the Almiranta off cape Enganno, and what happened to the Capitana from their ſeparation, till they both came into the bay of the eleven thouſand virgins: it will now be proper to give an account alſo of the Almiranta from that time to their junction. The Almiranta ſuppoſing that the Capitana, as had been ſettled between them in caſe of their parting in bad weather, would have continued to leeward, the admiral and his council were of opinion, that they ſhould ſearch for her in the harbours they had paſſed; and accordingly returned on the 24th of September, and running along the coaſt, looked into the bays of San Coſme, Damian, and San Hyppolito, and the iſland of Cerros, where they ſupplied themſelves with wood and water which they wanted extremely; but not finding the tender, they returned to their former ſtation in order to look for her along the coaſt, hoping ſhe might have ſtood beyond the parallel where they ſeparated: and to avoid being again impeded by cape Enganno, they ſteered E. five days ſucceſſively, when they found themſelves about eight leagues from a large iſland, which they ſuppoſed to be de Paxaros; but though they kept working towards it above two days, the wind baffled all their efforts.

At laſt, the ſhip from the violence of the winds and the extraordinary agitation of the ſea, made a great deal of water, beſides what ſhe ſhipped in rolling, and it was judged prudent to ſtand in for the ſhore, that in caſe ſhe ſhould founder or ſink, the people might ſave their lives. When they came near the ſhore, they ſaw the iſland of Ceniza aſtern; and on coming into the bay of the eleven thouſand virgins, they ſaw the Capitana and tender ſailing out to ſea. Now the ſame ſcene of joy was revived as at their former meeting; and the general gave orders to continue their courſe to the firſt harbour they ſhould find. Accordingly they paſſed near a ſmall iſland near the main land, which they called San Hilario, and ranging along the coaſt they came in ſight of a large bay, which the general ordered the tender to ſound and ſurvey: they found it afforded a very good ſhelter againſt the N. W. wind and on the ſhore appeared great numbers of Indians. Soon after they were overtaken with a ſtrong gale at N. W. which obliged them to put back into the ſaid bay; and it being the anniverſary of St. Simon and St. Jude, they gave that name to the bay. Here the general ordered the Almiranta to take in wood and water.

The next morning the general ſent captain Peguero and enſign Alarcon aſhore on the main land with ſome ſoldiers in the Capitana's and Almiranta's boats to look out for water. Near the ſhore they found a conſiderable number of Indians, who ſeemed very alert and courageous, but did not moleſt the Spaniards, who dug ſeveral wells in a moiſt ſpot of ground overgrown with ſedge and flags, and here they watered. But ſoon after the Indians on ſeeing our men behaved civily, and offered them little preſents, ſuppoſed their complaiſance proceeded from fear; and this made them ſo inſolent, that they offered to take ſome things from the ſoldiers; and put their bows over their head by way of contempt; they were alſo for taking one of the boats from the boys who were left to keep her; and when the Spaniards put off, the Indians kept throwing ſtones at the people in the boats, till a ſoldier to terrify them fired his piece in the air: but the Indians ſeeing it did not hurt them, the day following, when captain Peguero came again for water with ſix ſoldiers and landed at ſome diſtance from thoſe who came with enſign Alarcon, came down to the ſhore, and encouraged by the ſmallneſs of the number, began to behave in the ſame imperious manner as before, on which three of the ſoldiers who had their matches lighted, ordered them by ſigns to keep at a diſtance; but inſtead of complying, they attempted to throw their bows over their heads, and actually did ſo to one of the ſoldiers. On which the pilot Antonio Florez drew his ſabre, and at one ſtroke cut both bow and ſtring: which ſo incenſed the Indians, that they drew up in form, and began to place their arrows for ſhooting; but it was thought adviſeable to prevent them, and accordingly the ſoldiers who had their matches ready, were ordered to fire, and the firſt volley with partridge ſhot and balls, ſix of the Indians fell; but their countrymen took them on their backs and carried them to a little eminence in the neighbourhood, and immediately gave notice to their neighbours of what had happened: about an hour after two hundred Indians painted with different colours and wearing large plumes of feathers on their heads, came down in a regular body with their bows and arrows to attack the Spaniards who had landed with enſign Alarcon, who on ſeeing them ordered his men to make ready. The arquebuſes however kept the Indians at a diſtance; and at length they ſent an Indian with a little dog as a token of peace; and the Spaniards went up to them. The Indians kept their eye continually on the arquebuſes; and told our men by ſigns that four of them were dead, and others were dying by the wounds they had received from them. At the ſame time they expreſſed a diſlike of their rudeneſs: giving at the ſame time, in token of ſincere friendſhip abundance of little preſents to our people, and retired. After taking in water, the general gave orders for departing; which was done on Wedneſday the firſt of November.

The ſquadron having left the bay of St. Simon and St. Jude, and continuing their voyage under the former difficulties, they came before a very large bay incloſed within lofty mountains on every ſide except the entrance: and by the breaking of the ſea near the harbour, it appeared that it was the mouth of a river. In the weſt part of the bay are two iſlands, which they called Todos Santos. The tender being ordered in, the Almiranta followed her; but the Capitana, as night was coming on, ſtood off to ſea; and the others that they might not be ſeparated from her, alſo put back: this happened on the 5th of November, and the next morning it was agreed to ſtand again into the bay and take a plainer view of it: but a favourable breeze ſpringing up; and the general thinking it moſt adviſeable to take advantage of it, and refer the ſurvey of the bay till their return, they continued their courſe. After ſailing a few leagues, the wind again ſhifted to the N. W. but they kept coaſting along the ſhore, and were amuſed with the ſmokes and fires made by the Indians all along the ſtrand, as an invitation to the ſhips to ſend their people aſhore. At the diſtance of ſix leagues from the main land, they fell in with four iſlands, to which they gave the name of los Coronados; the two ſmaller appeared like ſugar loaves, the other ſomething larger. To the north of theſe iſlands on the main land, is a famous harbour called San Diego, which the ſquadron entered at ſeven in the evening, on the 10th of December; and the day following the general ordered ſeveral perſons to ſurvey a foreſt lying on the N. W. ſide of the bay. This expedition was undertaken by enſign Alarcon, Abarcon, captain Peguero, father Antonio de la Aſcenſion, and eight ſoldiers. In this foreſt they found tall and ſtrait oaks, and other trees; ſome ſhrubs reſembling roſemary, and a great variety of fragrant and wholeſome plants: the high grounds commanded a view of the whole harbour which appeared ſpacious, convenient, and well ſheltered. The foreſt borders on the harbour towards the N. W. and is about three leagues in length, and a half a league in breadth. And to the N. W. of this wood is another good harbour. On their return with this report to the general, he ordered a tent to be pitched for religious worſhip: and that the ſhips ſhould be cleaned and tallowed, the people in the mean time being employed in wooding and keeping guard. They had their water from a little iſland of ſand, where they dug deep trenches, in which, during the flood the water was freſh and good; but on the ebb ſalt. One day a centinel poſted in the wood, gave notice that he ſaw a great number of Indians coming along the ſhore, naked, and their ſkins daubed with black and white colours, and armed with bows and arrows. On this the general deſired father Antonio to go and offer them peace. He was attended by enſign Juan Franciſco and ſix ſoldiers. On coming up to the Indians, having made ſigns of peace with a bit of white linen;

linen, and throwing the earth up with their hands, the ſavages immediately delivered their bows and arrows to the ſoldiers. Father Antonio embraced them, gave them bread and necklaces, with which they were greatly pleaſed; but on coming to the general's quarters, the Indians, at the ſight of ſuch a number of people, drew back to a little eminence; from whence they ſent two women, who approaching the general's tent, with a timid air, the religious and others made them preſents of beads, biſkets, and ſtrings of bugles, and thus diſmiſſed them to give their countrymen an account of the uſage they had met with from the ſtrangers. Their report was doubtleſs very favourable; for ſoon after they all came with them to ſee the Spaniards. Moſt of them were painted or beſmeared with black and white; and their heads loaded with feathers. The general and others received them with extreme courteſy; diſtributed among them ſeveral things and a great deal of fiſh which had been caught with the net in their preſence. The kind of paint they uſed looked like a mixture of ſilver and bluec olour: and on aſking them by ſigns what it was, they gave them a piece of metallic ore, from whence they made it: and ſignified by ſigns that a certain people up the country who had beards and were cloathed like the Spaniards,

ards, made from this mineral very fine ribbons; reſembling the laces on the ſoldiers buff-coats: and ſome like that on a purple velvet doublet, in which the general was then dreſſed; adding that theſe men, by their dreſs, complexions, and cuſtoms ſeemed to be of the ſame country with themſelves. The Indians were quite tranſported with the good treatment ſhewn them, and every third day came for biſket and fiſh: bringing with them ſkins of ſeveral kinds of beaſts, as ſables, wild cats, and the nets with which they catch them.

In this harbour is a great variety of fiſh, as oyſters, muſcles, lobſters, ſoles, &c. and in ſome of the rocks up the country were found geeſe, ducks, and quails; rabbits and hares were alſo here in great numbers. The general and father Antonio being deſirous of viewing the country, took with them ſome ſoldiers, and walked a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt, and were highly delighted with the mildneſs of the climate and goodneſs of the ſoil.

Every thing being completed according to the general's orders, they left this place on the 20th of November, but many of the ſoldiers were ſickly, and ſome very valuable perſons had died while they continued in this harbour. They had no ſooner left San Diego, than they met with their common difficulty, a ſtrong N. W. wind. The ſhips, however, came in ſight of a bay, where the neighbouring country made a pleaſant appearance. On every ſide of it they alſo ſaw the ſmoke of large fires which the Indians had kindled, that the ſhips might put in there. But on approaching the coaſt, found no ſhelter for the N. W. wind; they therefore continued their courſe, and a few leagues further diſcovered in St. Catherine bay, a large iſland about twelve leagues from the land, and from the day of its diſcovery, they called it the iſland of St. Catherine. On the 28th of November the ſhips came cloſe in with it, and from thence had ſight of a much larger lying off St. Catherine. They however thought proper not to ſurvey it till their return. At their approaching the iſland of St. Catharine, the inhabitants made fires in all parts: and when they ſaw the ſhips near the ſtrand, the women, children, and old men, began to ſhout, and with great rejoicings came down from ſome heights to the ſhore. The general ordered the admiral Toribio Gomez to go aſhore with father Antonio de la Aſcenſion, captain Peguero, and enſign Alarcon, and twenty four ſoldiers, to know what the people wanted, and take a view of the iſland. The men with the admiral were no ſooner landed, than they were met by great numbers of Indians of both ſexes, who behaved with that candour and courteſy, as ſeemed to indicate that this was not the firſt time they had ſeen Spaniards. On being aſked for water, they brought a veſſel made of ruſhes, and ſhaped like a bottle. The water was very good; but they were obliged to fetch it a conſiderable diſtance, from a little ſpring ſurrounded with ſavins and briars, with which this iſland is overrun. This report having been made to the general, he ordered a tent to be pitched for the fathers Andrew and Antonio to ſay maſs in, father Thomas being ill; and all the people came aſhore to aſſiſt at divine worſhip. On this occaſion alſo, a great many Indians, robuſt and well made, came to the tent, who the day before had been fiſhing in a kind of veſſel made of planks well put together, but of a very odd conſtruction. Some of theſe veſſels conveniently hold twenty men, though generally three perſons only, namely two men and a boy go in each.

The manner of fiſhing among the Indians is very ingenious, eaſy, and pleaſant. They carry in their boats long and thin poles, and to one of theſe fix a harpoon made of fiſh bones, faſtening to the harpoon a long rope. When they perceive at the bottom near the rocks a ſea wolf or any other fiſh worth catching, they ſtrike it with the harpoon; then vere out the rope, till the fiſh being ſpent, they draw it aſhore if large; and if ſmall into the boat. Thus they catch as many fiſh as they pleaſe. The ſea wolves ſerve them both for food and cloathing. The Indian women are well ſhaped, have fine eyes, and beautiful features; they have a decent behaviour and real modeſty: both boys and girls have a fine mixture of white and red, and are generally very good natured. Theſe Indians live in large huts, and their utenſils are in general made of ruſhes, ſo cloſely wrought as to hold water. The iſland abounds with roots like ſmall potatoes, and the Indians drive on a great trade by carrying them for ſale to the continent. This iſland like moſt of thoſe adjacent is very populous; and the inhabitants live together in rancherias. Here was alſo a temple for ſacrifices. It was a large incloſure entirely level; and near the altar an ample circle ſurrounded with the feathers of different kinds of birds, poſſibly of ſuch as had been ſacrificed to the idols. Within the circle was a figure painted with a variety of colours; and reſembling the image by which the Indians of New Spain repreſent the devil: in its hand it held the figures of the ſun and the moon. It happened that when the ſoldiers went to ſee this temple, there was within the circle two crowns of a very uncommon ſize: and at the approach of the Spaniards they flew away: but alighted on a neighbouring rock, and the ſoldiers ſeeing them ſo remarkably large, ſhot them both; at which an Indian, who came with the Spaniards as a guide made the moſt vehement lamentations, and expreſſed great horror, at the action. This iſland has ſeveral good harbours, abundance of fine fiſh, eſpecially ſardins; and in the country are found partridges and quails, rabbits, hares, and deer. The people themſelves are very ingenious, particularly in pilfering and concealing, ſome ſpecimens of which artifice they gave the Spaniards.

After taking a ſurvey of ſeveral parts of this iſland, the ſquadron left it on the 25th of December, in order to take a view of others near it; and then to ſtand in for the main land. Beyond St. Catherines there is a regular row of iſlands, five or ſix leagues diſtant from each other. Some are larger than others, but all populous, and the inhabitants trade with each other and with thoſe of the continent. Theſe iſlands take up near a ſpace of one hundred leagues; and follow each other in the ſame direction as the main land: and their number, largeneſs, and proximity often occaſion the Philippine ſhips in their return to New Spain, to miſtake them for the continent; and thus to keep at a diſtance from them. They are however very populous, and have a ſafe paſſage betwixt them and the main land, in ſome parts twelve, in others ten, and the narroweſt eight leagues broad, called el Canal de Santa Barbara, and lies eaſt and weſt. The ſhips being arrived near the continent, at the mouth of this channel, a boat came off with four oars, bringing an Indian, who was the lord of the coaſt. The canoe made for the Capitana, and with ſurpriſing celerity rowed three times round the ſhip, whilſt all who were in it joined in a chorus as the Indians in New Spain ſing Almatote. And afterwards without the leaſt apprehenſion came along ſide; and the Indian king, or cacique of the country, entered the ſhip. He firſt took two or three turns round the quarter deck, ſinging in the ſame manner as before; and then addreſſed himſelf in his own language to the governor and others. When he had finiſhed his ſpeech he gave them to underſtand by ſigns, that the people of the iſland of St. Catherine had ſent him notice by canoes four different ways, that ſhips had been upon their coaſt, and that the men belonging to them had beards and were cloathed; adding that they were alſo very brave, generous, and friendly, and had made many preſents to to thoſe who came to ſee them. This report he informed them had induced him to come on board to offer them his country and all it afforded, requeſting that the ſhips might come near the land, where he would furniſh them with every thing they wanted. And ſeeing no woman in the ſhip, he aſked for them; but the general anſwered that they never carried women, nor did they want any. At this the Indian was more urgent with the general to come aſhore with his people, promiſing to give to every man in the ſhip ten women; which made all the Spaniards ſmile. The Indian ſuppoſing that this was ſarcaſtically intended as promiſing more than he could perform, ſaid, that if one of the ſoldiers would go on ſhore, he would ſoon be convinced of the truth of what he had promiſed, and in the mean time, he and his ſon would remain as hoſtages, till the ſoldier returned: but night coming on, it was thought proper to defer the experiment till next morning, when, if the weather would permit, the ſhip ſhould go in. Accordingly they diſmiſſed the Indian with ſome preſents; and he went away, charmed with the liberality of the Spaniards, and determined to make the beſt preparations for the entertainment of his new gueſts. Within an hour after the Indian was gone, a S. E. wind ſprung up, and was the only gale from that quarter they had felt during their voyage. And it being directly fair, the general thought proper to defer his viſit to the Indian, till his return. Accordingly they ſet all their ſails, and as the gale laſted from ſeven in the evening on the 3d of December, till eight the day following, the ſhips had nearly reached the laſt cluſter of iſlands in the channel, which are ſix in number, and at two leagues diſtance from each other. The channel is about twenty four leagues in length, and the coaſt of the continent very pleaſantly interſperſed with woods, and a great number of Indian villages.

In the following night, the wind ſhifted to the N. W. which cauſed a great conſternation, it being dark, and the ſhips among iſlands and in a channel where the ſea ran very high. This gale laſted all that night and the two following days; on the third it abated; but they loſt ſight of the tender among the iſlands. This fair weather enabled the ſhips to get out of this Archipelago; and ſtanding in for the continent to take a draught of the coaſt, they found it extremely high and mountainous, but with ſome well-ſheltered bays, from one of which four ruſh canoes, each containing two naked Indians, rowed directly for the ſhips, and coming aboard, very liberally diſtributed the fiſh they had, eſpecially ſalted ſardins and other ſmaller fiſh which they brought for bait. Theſe Indians, as if ſenſible that they could not be underſtood, did not ſpeak a word, but expreſſed their thoughts by ſigns. They are taller, better made, and more robuſt than any they had yet ſeen, and covered themſelves with goat ſkins when they came on board. The Spaniards gave them ſome proviſions and cloaths, ſo that they departed extremely well ſatisfied. Theſe Indians appeared to be of good diſpoſitions, not at all addicted to theft or riot. The following day other Indians came aboard, whoſe viſit paſſed like that of the former. They were very preſſing that the ſhips would come to their country, offering plenty of fiſh and acorns, which is their common ſubſiſtence. Theſe alſo received preſents of victuals, cloathing, beads, and bugles; with which they returned to their iſland, very well pleaſed. Here the tender came up with the ſhips, and related, that the Indians of thoſe iſlands had preſented them with fiſh and acorns. On the coming up of the tender, the general ordered the ſhips to ſtand nearer the ſhore, to ſee if there was any harbour, the coaſt being hid by a thick fog. Here they had a favourable gale which laſted till the 14th of December; and the weather clearing up, the ſhips found themſelves near a very high and white ridge of mountains; but reddiſh towards the ſkirts, and covered with woods. This they call Sierra de Santa Lucia; it is the uſual land mark for the China ſhips. Four leagues farther a river falls into the ſea among rocks, after a precipitate courſe from ſome high and white mountains; the banks of it are covered with black and white poplars, willows, and other trees and ſhrubs known in Spain. This river is called del Carmelo. Two leagues farther is a noble harbour, there being betwixt it and the ſaid river a wood of pine trees two leagues in breadth, and at the entrance of the harbour the land forms a cape called Punta de Pinos. Here on the 16th of December the ſquadron came to an anchor, in order to tranſmit accounts of its proceedings to New Spain.

We have already obſerved, that on the 16th of December the ſquadron put into this port which was called Monte-rey, in honour of the count de Monte-rey, viceroy of New Spain; by whom they had been ſent on this diſcovery, purſuant to his majeſty's orders. The next day the general directed preparations to be made, that the fathers Andrew de la Aſſumpcion and Antonio de la Aſcenſion, might ſay maſs during their ſtay there. The church was erected under a large oak cloſe to the ſea ſide, and within twenty paces of it were ſome wells affording plenty of excellent water.

After maſs it was moved in the council to conſider of the means for tranſmitting an account to the viceroy of New Spain of their diſcoveries and proceedings. And as all the ſhips companies were remarkably ſickly, that ſcarce one was in perfect health, and very few able to do duty; the maſter of the Almiranta and his mate were not able to ſtir themſelves in their beds; and the maſter and mate of the Capitana could hardly ſtand on the deck, a great many of the ſoldiers, ſailors, and boys were very ill, and ſixteen had died before their arrival at this port; it was reſolved that the Almiranta ſhould be ſent as an advice-boat under the admiral Toribio Gomez de Corvan and the two pilots Paſqual and Balthazar; that the ſick ſhould be ſent in her to New Spain with a number of ſailors ſufficient to carry her to Acapulco; and that the remainder ſhould be turned over to the Capitana and tender; likewiſe that what proviſions were on board the Almiranta, beſides, a plentiful allowance for their voyage, ſhould alſo be put on board theſe two ſhips.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, the general ordered them to be executed with the utmoſt diſpatch: and every particular which had been diſcovered, inſerted in a chart to be ſent with a letter to the viceroy, and a reinforcement requeſted, in order to make a perfect diſcovery and ſurvey of the entrance of California; the Capitana and tender being to wait for this reinforcement, till the middle of May following; they alſo drew up a catalogue of the ſtores neceſſary for completing the diſcovery of the whole coaſt of California. Accordingly the ſick, together with father Thomas de Aquino, were put on board the Almiranta; and every thing being ready for her departure, the ſeamen were ordered on board; and on the 29th of December the Almiranta ſailed out of the harbour. It will not be foreign to the purpoſe to mention here the ſickneſs wich raged among the ſquadron, being the ſame, which in theſe parts generally ſeizes on thoſe who are coming from China to New Spain, and is ſo deleterious as to ſweep off half the ſhip's company. In this latitude the air is very ſharp and cold, which pierces thoſe of weak conſtitutions, and perhaps of a peſtilential nature; unleſs we ſuppoſe that its great ſubtilty is ſufficient to cauſe ſuch a diſeaſe in bodies attenuated by fatigues. Its firſt ſymptom is an univerſal pain all over the body; which now becomes ſo tender as not to bear the leaſt touch; and ſometimes this will extort tears and cries from the moſt reſolute men. After this the body, eſpecially the lower parts, is covered with purple ſpots, larger and more prominent than grains of muſtard ſeed: the next ſymptom is wheals of the ſame colour two fingers broad. They appear firſt under the hams, and ſpread from the middle of the thigh to the flexure of the knee, rendering the parts ſo rigid, that the legs reſemble petrifactions, it being impoſſible to move them in the leaſt from that poſture in which this ſymptom ſeized them. The patients ſwell ſo prodigiouſly, that they cannot be moved from one ſide to the other without extreme torture: and theſe blains extend themſelves ſo that the calf of the leg and thigh becomes wholly livid, and thus the morbid humour pervades the whole body, and ſeizes the ſhoulders in particular more than any other part, cauſing at the ſame time, excruciating pains in the loins and kidneys. Nor is the leaſt eaſe to be expected from change of place, as the ſlighteſt motion is attended with ſuch ſevere pains, that they muſt be very fond of life, who would not willingly lay it down on the firſt appearance of ſo terrible a diſtemper. This virulent humour makes ſuch ravages in the body, that it is entirely covered with ulcers; and the poor patients are unable to bear the leaſt preſſure, even the very cloaths laid on them deprives them of life. Thus they lay groaning and incapable of any relief. For the greateſt aſſiſtance poſſible to be given them, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, is not to touch them, nor even the bed cloaths. Theſe effects however melancholy, are not the only produced by this peſtilential humour. In many the gums, both of the upper and lower jaw, are preſſed both within and without to ſuch a degree, that the teeth cannot touch one another: and withal ſo looſe and bare that they ſhake with the leaſt motion of the head; and ſome of the patients ſpit their teeth out with the ſaliva. Thus they were unable to receive any food but liquid, as gruel, broth, milk of almonds and the like. This gradually brought on ſo great a weakneſs, that they died whilſt talking with their friends.

Such was the diſtemper with which all were afflicted; which removed numbers from this world to the manſions of eternity.

But to return to the harbour of Monte-rey, where the Capitana and tender remained to take in wood and water. This is an excellent harbour and ſecure againſt all winds. Near the ſhore are an infinite number of very large pines, ſtrait and ſmooth, fit for maſts and yards; likewiſe oaks of a prodigious ſize proper for building ſhips. Here likewiſe are roſe-trees, white thorns, firs, willows, and poplars; large clear lakes, fine paſtures, and arable lands. Wild beaſts, particularly bears of an uncommon ſize are found here, and a ſpecies of horned cattle reſembling buffaloes, and about the ſame ſize; others as large as wolves, and ſhaped like a ſtag, with a ſkin reſembling that of the pelican; a long neck, and horns on the head as large as thoſe of a ſtag, their tail is a yard in length, and half a yard in breadth, and their hoof cloven like that of an ox. The country alſo abounds in deer, rabbets, hares, and wild cats, buſtards, geeſe, ducks, pigeons, partridges, thruſhes, ſparrows, goldfinches; cranes and vultures are alſo found here, together with another kind of bird of the bigneſs of a turkey; and the largeſt ſeen during the whole voyage, being ſeventeen ſpans from the tip of one wing to that of the other. Along the coaſt are great numbers of gulls, cormorants, crows, and other ſea-fowl. In the rocks are a great many cavities, ſome like the matrices of a large ſhell-fiſh with conques equal to the fineſt mother of pearl. The ſea abounds with oyſters, lobſters, crabs, &c. Alſo huge ſea wolves and whales. This harbour is ſurrounded with rancherias of Indians, a well-looking affable people, and very ready to part with every thing they have. They are alſo under ſome form of government. Their arms are bows and arrows.

They expreſſed a great deal of concern when they perceived the Spaniards were going to leave them, which happened on the 3d of Jan. 1603, when the Capitana and tender ſailed out of this harbour.

The Capitana and tender had no ſooner left the harbour of Monte-rey, than they had a favourable wind, which laſting till twelfth day, carried them beyond port St. Franciſco. But the day after, which was the 7th of January, the wind ſhifted to the N. W. but blowing an eaſy gale, ſtill made ſome way; and the tender concluding that there was no neceſſity for ſtanding in for the ſhore continued her voyage; and the Capitana thinking that they went in company did not ſhew any light; by which means in the morning they had no ſight of each other, and the general in the Capitana returned to port St. Franciſco to wait for the tender, which he ſuppoſed was making all the ſail poſſible after him; but the firſt account they had of the tender, was not till after the Capitana's return from the voyage: Another reaſon which induced the Capitana to put into Puerto Franciſco was to take a ſurvey of it, and ſee if any thing was to be found of the San Auguſtin, which in the year 1595, had by order of his majeſty and the viceroy, been ſent from the Philippines by the governor to ſurvey the coaſt of California;

under the direction of Sebaſtian Rodriguez Cermennon a pilot of known abilities; but was driven aſhore in this harbour by the violence of the wind. Among others on board the San Auguſtine, was the pilot Franciſco Volanos, who was alſo chief pilot of this ſquadron. He was acquainted with the country, and affirmed that they had left aſhore a great quantity of wax and ſeveral cheſts of ſilk; and the general was deſirous of putting in here to ſee if there remained any veſtiges of the ſhip and cargo. The Capitana came to an anchor behind a point of land called La Punta de los Reys: but no people were ſent aſhore, that the ſhip might be in readineſs for the tender: and accordingly on the day following the Capitana ſailed out in queſt of her. The wind was N. W. and blew ſo eaſy a gale, that the Capitana moved very ſlowly. However on Sunday the 12th of January ſhe made ſome high red mountains: and fourteen leagues further to the N. W. diſtinguiſhed a cape running into the ſea, and near it ſome ſnowy mountains, from whence the pilots on board judged it to be cape Mendozino, which lay in the latitude of 41 deg. 30 min.

The day following, namely the 13th of January, they had a very violent gale at S. W. accompanied with ſleet; and ſuch a high ſea,

that

that they apprehended the ſhips would founder; to avoid this danger, as likewiſe a higher latitude, where both the ſtorm and the cold would be increaſed, it being the depth of winter in thoſe parts, it was thought proper to lay to till the wind would admit of their returning towards Acapulco.

At the arrival of the Capitana in theſe parts ſhe had not above ſix perſons able to keep the deck: ſoldiers, ſeamen, and boys were all down with that terrible diſtemper we have deſcribed; the religious and ſupernumerary captains were alſo ill, ſo that the father commiſſary could hardly confeſs them; or adminiſter the extreme unction to thoſe who were dying: beſides as the healthy men were too few to work ſuch a ſhip, their calamity was aggravated by a violent conſternation at their danger, being near a terrible coaſt and without aſſiſtance: and had a ſtorm come on, they muſt infallibly have been loſt for want of hands to manage the ſails. The general in this exigency called his uſual council, where, after deliberating on the beſt meaſures poſſible to be taken, it was reſolved not to proceed further; but on the firſt weather to return and make for the harbour de la Paz in California, and there wait for the ſuccours which the Almiranta had been ſent to aſk of the viceroy. This reſolution raiſed the ſpirits of the people, as they now thought they ſhould live ſome days longer than if they had proceeded to a higher latitude: and on the 14th of the ſaid month the weather cleared up, and they found by a good obſervation, that they were near cape Mendozino, the currents having carried the ſhip thither in two days only. But the ſun was ſoon after obſcured by a thick fog intermixed with a cold mizzling rain: and the wind being ſtill S. E. the ſhip lay to till the 19th of January, when the wind came about to the N. W. which diſſipated the fog, and the pilots were able to make another obſervation, and found themſelves in the latitude of 42 deg. On the coaſt they perceived a white cape extending to high mountains covered with ſnow; and from its colour and being firſt ſeen on the eve of St. Sebaſtian was called Cabo Blanco de San Sebaſtian. This wind animated the ſickly to aſſiſt the healthy ſeamen, ſo that with extreme fatigue the yards were hoiſted, and the ſhip put before the wind in order to return to Acapulco along ſhore in queſt of the tender, and likewiſe for taking a draught of the coaſt.

The tender, as I have above obſerved, had loſt the Capitana, and thinking her to be before, followed in ſearch of her: and in the latitude of 41 degrees, the ſouth eaſt wind brought her to the Capitana, but the ſhip not being able to live in the ſea, ran before the wind near the ſhore, and came to an anchor under a huge rock near cape Mendozino: and when the wind abated, continued her voyage along ſhore. On the 19th of January, Florez the pilot who was in the tender found himſelf in the latitude of 43 degrees, and the land forming a cape called Cabo Blanco where the coaſt begins to ſtretch towards the N. W. and near it a very large river having its banks covered with aſh trees, willows, and other Spaniſh trees. This pleaſing appearance rendered them deſirous of putting into it, but the currents hindered them *. And ſoon after enſign Martin de Aquilar commander of the tender, and the pilot Florez finding they were in a latitude beyond that mentioned in the viceroy's inſtructions, that there was no appearance of the Capitana, and that the crew were very ſickly, agreed to return to Acapulco.

This river is ſuppoſed to be that which runs up to a large city diſcovered by a Dutch ſhip, and that it is the ſtreight of Anian, through which the ſhip paſſed from the north ſea int the ſouth. The city de Quivira is doubtleſ in theſe parts; and to this country the narra-

---

* It is worth obſerving that what theſe Spaniards ſa was not an entrance, ſtreight, or arm of the ſea, but a river that what is added about the ſtreight of Anian, is plainly mer conjecture without any foundation.

tiv

tive delivered to his majeſty, and which firſt induced him to order an improvement of thoſe diſcoveries; and a report to be made to him of the ſeveral proceedings, relates.

We have already mentioned the departure of the Capitana from cape San Sebaſtian, in order to return to Acapulco in New Spain, from whence they firſt ſailed: and they kept along ſo near the land as plainly to diſcern, whether any thing worth notice had eſcaped their firſt obſervations. In this latitude the country along the coaſt made a very verdant appearance, and that on the inland parts, which had all the ſigns of fertility, was alſo very populous, there being a great number of fires in all parts. The wind being now at northweſt, very favourable, and the weather eaſy, they had a clear and continual view of every inch of ground along the ſhore. While the Capitana was thus delightfully ſailing along a very pleaſant coaſt, a little diſtance from St. Barbara's channel, two canoes were ſeen coming towards the ſhip, each with three men without any other covering than a kind of goats ſkins: and after rowing three times round the ſhip, without any further ceremony came on board, with the ſame freedom and chearfulneſs as if coming into their own houſes. Biſket and ſome other trifles were given them and they returned to the ſhore highly ſatisfied.

When the Capitana on her return came to this coaſt, her condition was truly deplorable; all the people on board, the general and three ſoldiers excepted, labouring under the abovementioned diſtemper, and it was with great pain that the father commiſſary went about adminiſtering the ſacrament to the ſick. As for father Antonio de la Aſcenſion he was not able to ſtir; and the ſickneſs was ſo excruciating that nothing was heard in the ſhip but cries and lamentations. Some by way of eaſe made loud complaints, others lamented their ſins with the deepeſt contrition; ſome died talking; ſome ſleeping; ſome eating; ſome whilſt ſitting up in their beds.

The ſight of ſo many fellow-adventurers lying dead, together with the cries, groans, and lamentations of the afflicted, would have moved the moſt obdurate breaſt, and providence was pleaſed to inſpire hearts which before were ſtrangers to every humane and tender ſentiment, with ſuch fervent benevolence, that thoſe in health attended the ſick, and performed all ſervices to them with as much diligence and care, as if every one had only a ſingle patient. The religious, eſpecially father Thomas de Aquino, foreſeeing theſe terrible extremities, had at Aquapulco provided themſelves with cordials and conſerves, which were all reſerved for this day of affliction; and doubtleſs many owed their recovery to the prudence and liberality of the fathers in the diſtribution of them.

The Indians were no ſooner returned on ſhore, than the Capitana entered the channel of San Barbara, with an intent of viewing the large iſland which in their firſt voyage they had ſeen to the E. of the iſland of St. Catherine, propoſing to ſtay there ſome days in expectation of the tender. But the council diſſuaded the general from this intention, the ſhips company not being able to hand the ſails nor get up the anchor; the people likewiſe were dying apace; and if they remained there all would periſh, to the great prejudice of his majeſty's ſervice, and be a crime againſt humanity itſelf. The general immediately acquieſced in theſe reaſons, and without viewing the iſland or coming to that of St. Catherine, the chief pilot was ordered to ſteer directly for the iſland of Cerros: from thence to cape San Lucas; and there in the harbour of La Paz, wait for the ſuccours which had been deſired from the viceroy. Accordingly they continued their voyage, paſſing by the iſland of St. Catherine at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues, when three canoes came off from the iſland loaded with ſea wolves ſkins and fiſh, which the Indians exchanged for bead necklaces, ſcizars, and knives. When the Spaniards had been there before, they perceived them to be very fond of theſe ſkins; and thus, like ſagacious traders, had laid up a conſiderable ſtock of them, and now came to bring them out to a good market: but being accidentally detected in their addreſs at pilfering, they were ordered to repair to their canoes, and the ſhip continued her courſe. Here the wind lull'd, that the ſhip made but little way along ſhore; however at length ſhe reached the wells in the bay of Todos los Santos, which, as I have already obſerved, was omitted in order to be ſurveyed on their return: but there was a neceſſity of leaving it this time alſo, the greateſt part of the people who had kept their health as far as the channel of St. Barbara, being ill, ſo that now there were not above three or four who were able to work the ſhip: and on this account they ſtood off from the coaſt to ſhorten the paſſage; and all that was done was to obſerve the courſes ſteered along this coaſt, that, with his majeſty's approbation the China ſhips might know what courſe to ſteer, after making cape Mendozino, in order to reach New Spain. On the 3d of February the Capitana came in ſight of the iſland of San Hilario. Here the north wind freſhened, that the ſhips ſtood farther from the land, and they had only ſuch a ſight of it as to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral parts. After paſſing by the bay of los Virgines, on the 5th of the ſaid month, they made the iſland of Cenizas, which, as we have mentioned above, had been ſurveyed by the Almiranta. Here the N. W. wind increaſing, the ſhips ſtood in for the iſland of Cerros, and the day following in the evening, the Capitana came to an anchor at her former ſtation, in order to take in wood and water. And here ſome of the ſeamen by the ſalubrious change of the climate, had recovered a little ſtrength; and they encouraged one another to go aſhore and aſſiſt in wooding and watering. Before their departure they left ſignals and writings, that in caſe the tender ſhould put in there, ſhe might know where to find the Capitana. Every thing being completed and the weather favourable, the ſhip proceeded for cape San Lucas. On the 9th of the ſaid month, being Sunday morning, the Capitana ſailed out among the iſlands, the bay and arm of the ſea, having been before ſurveyed in the tender by father Anthony: and when the ſhip was clear of the iſland, the chief pilot availed himſelf of the fair wind to ſhorten the voyage; and ſtood from the land directly for cape San Lucas, of which he had ſight about noon on

Friday the 14th. Here it was reſolved not to put into the bay of San Barnabas, nor touch at the entrance of the gulf of California, but ſtand directly for the iſlands of Mazatlan, the inhabitants of them being chriſtians, and there wait while an expreſs could be ſent to Mexico, to acquaint the viceroy of their arrival, and deſire his excellency's farther commands.

Accordingly the Capitana croſſed the mouth of the gulf of California; and on Monday the 17th of February happily entered the harbour of the iſland of Mazatlan: and the next day came to an anchor in the place which afforded the moſt ſecure ſhelter, and was alſo very convenient for going aſhore.

The Capitana being thus ſafely anchored at the iſland of Mazatlan, the general's firſt care was to ſend advice of their arrival to the inhabitants of the continent; and determined to go himſelf in perſon, together with five of the moſt healthy ſoldiers, and to proceed to the village of San Sebaſtian, about eight leagues up the country. Accordingly, on the 19th early in the morning, the general and his five attendants went aſhore; but being ignorant on what ſide the town lay, there being no road or path, they ſtruck into a wood, and travelled two days in extreme hunger and thirſt, which, with the great heat, weakened the ſoldiers to ſuch a degree that they were in great danger of periſhing in the foreſt; but wandering about, they at laſt fell into a broad road which they followed, without knowing whither it would carry them. Whilſt they were reſting themſelves under a tree, they heard the noiſe of bells. At this they ſtarted up and looking round ſaw a drove of mules going with proviſions from Caſtile to Culiacan. When this caravan came up, they aſked the muleteer whither that road led, he anſwered to Culiacan; and the general enquiring after the town of San Sebaſtian, and the chief alcaldi of the country, he offered to convey them to the place where he reſided; and having relieved their wants, furniſhed them with mules to carry them to the place the general deſired. The chief alcaldi was at a village in the neighbourhood, and proved to be captain Martin Ruiz de Aguirre, an intimate acquaintance of the general's and known to all the military men in the ſhip. The general related to him their diſtreſſes; and deſired to be furniſhed with bread, fowls, kids, calves, and other things for the time they ſhould ſtay there: likewiſe to recommend to him a diligent and careful man to go with all poſſible diſpatch to Mexico with letters for the viceroy, acquainting him of their arrival and their extreme diſtreſs; the five ſoldiers with him being the only men belonging to the ſhip who were in any tolerable ſtate of health. Captain Aguirre with joy complied with every thing that was aſked; and without this care in the general and the captain's alacrity, the whole crew muſt have periſhed, and the ſhip been left as a deſolate wreck. Immediately ſeven or eight mules loaded with bread, fowls, kids, calves, plantains, lemons, oranges, &c. were ſent to the ſhip, and the ſame quantity ſent every third day; that the people might not only be plentifully ſupplied during their ſtay, but likewiſe provided with a ſufficiency till they came to Acapulco, where they would find an affluence of every thing.

From what has been ſaid, ſome idea may be formed of the condition of the company of the Capitana at their arrival in this harbour; we ſhall therefore only add, that by the diſtemper above deſcribed they were helpleſs and ſick, covered with ulcers, and their gums ſo ſwelled that they could neither ſpeak nor eat: and the malignity of the diſtemper ſuch, that none thought of ever being reſtored to perfect health. Nothing was heard in the ſhip at her arrival here, but cries and paſſionate invocations of heaven. However in nineteen days all of them recovered their health and ſtrength; ſo that when they departed, the ſails were looſed, the ſhip worked, and every part of the duty performed as in the preceding year, when they viſited this harbour on their paſſage. Such ſalutary effects had the freſh proviſions, fruits, &c. ſent on board by the general; the eating of a fruit which abounds in theſe iſlands, and by the natives called xocohuilztles, was alſo of very great ſervice. It reſembles an apple; the leaves of the tree are exactly like thoſe of the pine apple; and the fruit grows in cluſters, like that of the cypreſs: it is alſo nearly of the ſhape of the cypreſs nut; the rind or ſhell is yellow; and the pulp like that of a white tuna, with ſeeds ſomething larger than thoſe of the tuna. It has a very pleaſant taſte and a tartiſh ſweetneſs. This fruit is endued with ſuch virtue, that it cleanſed and relieved the gums, faſtened the teeth; and, after eating twice of it, the mouth would be cloſed, ſo as to eat any other kind of food without pain. The uſe of this fruit was diſcovered in the following manner: ſome ſoldiers going up the iſland with the father commiſſary to a burial, Antonio Luis, the officer, ſeeing the fruit, from a curioſity of being acquainted with the products of the ſoil, plucked one and began, though with extreme pain in his teeth and gums, to bite it; and finding it of an exquiſite taſte he eat the whole; and immediately voided from his mouth a great quantity of purulent blood. And on putting the other to his mouth, he found that the pain in his teeth was much leſs, and he could chew it with great eaſe. On his return to the ſhip, he related the happy effects of this fruit: and diſtributed ſome among his friends, who all found the ſame pleaſing conſequences, which induced them to go aſhore and gather a great quantity for the relief of others. So that, on the general's return, he found many whom he deſpaired of ſeeing again able to eat the freſh proviſions continually bringing to them. Theſe were the only means by which, within nineteen days, they perfectly recovered from ſuch a horrible and fatal diſtemper. This fruit is the chief ſubſiſtence of the Indian warriors of the provinces of Acaponeta and Chametla, which lie within the government of New Galicia: but their general way is to roaſt or boil it, as more wholeſome and palatable. The general finding his ſhip's company thus happily recovered, but being without caulkers, and his ſhip leaky, he ordered the anchor to be weighed, and ſail for Acapulco to refit the ſhip, and procure additional hands and proviſions, that if the viceroy pleaſed they might return to California; or otherwiſe put a final period to the perils and diſtreſſes of ſo unpleaſant a voyage. Accordingly, on the 9th of March the ſhip ſailed for theſe iſlands with a fair wind, ſteering for Acapulco; and after paſſing by cape Corientes and coming within ſight of Puerto de la Navidad, kept near the ſhore till they arrived at Acapulco, where they came to an anchor on the 21ſt of March in the ſame year 1603.

On the arrival of the Capitana at Acapulco, the whole city was joyfully ſurpriſed, no body expecting to ſee her any more; eſpecially to find the people on board ſo healthy, having concluded from the account given by thoſe who arrived in the Almiranta, that all belonging to her, who had viſited Puerto de Monte-rey had certainly periſhed: and doubtleſs this would have been the caſe, had not the winds favoured their return, and they fortunately put in at the iſlands of Mazatlan. But it is now time to relate what befell the Almiranta from their leaving Puerto de Monte-rey till their arrival at Acapulco.

The natural diſtreſs and toil of the voyage were aggravated by the general ſickneſs which prevailed among the company; and which proved ſo fatal, that when ſhe came into the harbour, only three perſons were in health on board, all the reſt being in a very languiſhing condition. Theſe three perſons were the admiral Torrebio Gomez de Corvan, corporal Franciſco Vidal, a Galician, and Juan de Marchina, a ſoldier; ſo that had not the admiral been a man of great reſolution, ſpirit, and experience, in ſea-affairs, the ſhip could never have reached the harbour. Of thoſe who came ſick to Acapulco, only ſix ſoldiers recovered. In fine the Almiranta loſt twenty five perſons. Among theſe were four of the admiral's ſervants and three ſlaves. And hence it was concluded that the Capitana would ſuffer more than the Almiranta; the greateſt part of her people being ſick at her departure; and as they were ſtill to go to the height of 42 degrees, they were conſidered as a forlorn hope, every one never expecting to hear of them any more. And hence that pleaſing aſtoniſhment at the arrival, and the healthy condition of the crew, of the Capitana.

At the Almiranta's coming into port, notice was immediately ſent to the viceroy, who diſpatched orders to the officers of the port of Acapulco to take all poſſible care of the ſick, eſpecially of father Thomas de Aquino, who was alſo to be furniſhed with every neceſſary for bringing him to Mexico, and it muſt be owned that the officers conformed to theſe orders with the moſt cordial diligence. The general on his landing procured the chief alcaldi of the town to diſpatch a courier to the viceroy with an account of his arrival, and that he waited his farther commands. By the time the courier reached Mexico, the viceroy had been acquainted that the tender alſo was arrived: for Eſtevan Lopez the pilot and commander of it had ſent advice, that after parting with the Capitana, he went in ſearch of her as high as 43 degrees, and had ſurveyed the countries already mentioned; that according to the judgment of enſign Martin de Aquilar and the maſter Antonio Florez, they had returned towards Acapulco; that before they reached San Diego the Enſign and pilot both died; and the command devolved on him, four perſons only, beſides himſelf, being left on board; that he ſteered directly for New Spain in ſearch of the Capitana; and put in at la Navidad, paſſing by the iſlands of Mazatlan where the Capitana had anchored. On reaching la Navidad, Lopez ſet out expreſs to the viceroy, committing the care of the tender to the four ſurviving ſoldiers. He was ſent back immediately by his excellency to carry the tender to Acapulco, which was performed within one month after his departure from Mexico. The viceroy on receiving the general's letter ſent him from Acapulco, returned an immediate anſwer, directing the king's officers to pay the ſoldiers all their arrears, and to entertain the religious, who were father Andrez de la Aſſumcion and father Antonio de la Aſcenſion, and ſupply them with every thing neceſſary for their journey to Mexico, in a manner becoming their character: all which was done with the greateſt care and diligence. The greateſt number of perſons who died on board this ſquadron in the voyage to California, amounted to 48; among which were enſign Juan de Acevedo Texada, a Portugueſe; enſign Sebaſtian Melendez, an Andaluzian; enſign Martin de Aguila, a native of Malaga; Antonio Florez, a native of Aviles, and Balthaſar de Armas, both pilots; ſerjeant Miguel de Legar, a Biſcayan; Juan del Caſtillan Bueno, ſhipright, born at Seville; and ſeveral other brave and valuable men, but of leſs note.

On the 27th of April the religious, the general, the captains Peguero and Alarcon, and enſign Juan Franciſco, together with the ſoldiers, left Acapulco, and on the 19th arrived ſafe at Mexico: whence they went in a body to Chapulte Peque to pay their duty to the viceroy, who received them with great joy and affability, complimented them on their ſafety, praiſed their conduct and reſolution, and promiſed to take notice of them and preſerve them as opportunity offered. Nor was this the effect of complaiſance only, his promiſes were ſoon performed; all, to their entire ſatisfaction, being promoted within a ſhort time according to their reſpective pretenſions.

This voyage in which nothing has been magnified or added is, I think, an evident proof of Spaniſh fortitude and valour, as under ſuch ſufferings, dangers, and fatigues, our countrymen completed an enterpriſe, which all had before failed in: and if this affords matter for honour and triumph, how much greater glory belongs to the adventurers in this voyage. Their diſcoveries would have been more extenſive, their achievements greater, had not ſickneſs obſtructed their plan: for had only fourteen perſons been able to have done duty at cape Blanco, the general intended to have entered the ſtreight called Anian, ſaid to be thereabouts; and through which it is ſuppoſed the foreign ſhip paſſed into the South ſea: and thence if poſſible to have reached the North ſea, and after viſiting Newfoundland, to ſail directly for Old Spain. This would have been making the tour of the world, cape Mendozino being the Antipodes to old Caſtile and particularly to the cities of Salamanca, Valadolid, and Burgos; but though they were diſappointed in this, envy itſelf muſt own they deſerved ſignal rewards for what they actually performed: they have diſcovered a new world in which the chriſtian religion

ligion is now planted, and will produce fruits in ſuch abundance as to fill the manſions of heaven: beſides the great advantages to the ſtate; articles which our ſovereign has ſo much at heart. We are all children of Chriſt and all brethren; and thus beſides univerſal benevolence, by the law of brotherly love, it is incumbent on us all to ſupplicate the God of mercy in whoſe hands are the hearts of men, that he will have mercy on theſe our brethren; and ſend among them able and exemplary labourers for their converſion, that being thus brought to the poſſeſſion of our holy faith, they may obtain eternal felicity.

APPENDIX III.

Account of the voyage of father Fernando Conſag, miſſionary of CALIFORNIA, performed for ſurveying the eaſtern coaſt of CALIFORNIA to its extremity, the river Colorado, by order of father Chriſtoval de Eſcobar and Llamas provincial of New Spain in the year 1746.

ON the ninth of June 1746, we departed in four canoes from San Carlos, which lies in 28 deg. north lat. the ſhallowneſs of the water in this harbour admitting only of canoes.

noes. The watering places of St. Anne are three leagues from it; being ſeveral brackiſh pits, but the rains waſhing away the nitre greatly mend the water. The harbour, its watering places, and ſome hamlets are included within two capes, which advance a great way into the ſea: theſe are Las Virgines, and San Gabriel de la Sarmejas or Sal-ſi-puedes. Both points are lofty and lie N. E. and S. W. from each other. Having ſtaid till it was flood, we departed about eleven, and towards the evening came into the bay of la Santiſſima Trinidad, where there is a pearl fiſhery. Though this bay be large beyond the firſt cape, it affords little ſhelter againſt a S. E. wind; and beyond the other you are expoſed to the N. In the middle of it is an iſland from which a reef of rocks ſtretches into the ſea, and by the ebb and flood are alternately ſeen and covered. This iſland has been very fatal to the pearl-divers many of them having periſhed here. The water in a creek of the bay is brackiſh; and though the cape where it terminates be S. S. E. the adjacent coaſt runs N. E. and is full of rocks; ſome above and others under water. At its point and extremity is the bay of San Bernabé, and oppoſite to it a low iſland frequented by ſea wolves.

10th, We proſecuted our voyage againſt the wind; but ſtormy weather coming on, in the laſt quarter of the moon, we ran under San Bernabé.

11th, We ſet ſail in the morning with a calm ſea for San Juan Baptiſta, which cape lies N. N. W. of the place we left. This cape is only ſuch in regard of the bay of de S. Bernabé, which lies behind it. But beyond is a continued ſhore running alſo N. N. W. It is low, and being clayey, makes a reddiſh appearance. The whole coaſt is very bad, and dangerous from the many rocks and ſtony ſhelves about it. At three in the morning we were obliged to run in between a reef of rocks, and cape San Juan which lies a little further, where we found ſome ſhelter from the hard gales at N. which blew that day and part of the night.

12th, About ſix in the morning after maſs, we proceeded to weather the firſt cape of San Juan. This point and another form a bay, but of no manner of ſhelter unleſs againſt winds blowing from the ſhore. The bay beyond it is pretty large, but ſo far from being land-locked, that any wind makes a terrible ſea there. We croſſed it in a calm; it terminates at the low cape of San Miguel. This and Punta Gorda form another bay, in which is a pearl fiſhery; and the ſea in a ſtorm throws up great quantities of ſhells, on which account the divers call this place la Pepena. It has a ſpring near a creek, but the water thick and brackiſh. The natives are all chriſtians. The bay is entirely open to all winds, except the N. and N. E. under Gorda point, where we anchored being wind-bound.

13th, In this country of San Miguel de la Pepena, numbers of Indians came from ſeveral parts, to whom a ſermon was preached, and many children baptized, their fathers bringing them voluntarily.

14th, About ſix in the morning we left San Miguel bay, after ſounding the places fit for ſhelter. Near Gorda point, oppoſite to a low gravelly ſhore, there is at low water good anchorage, in a ſandy bottom with four fathom water: but nearer the point, where a broken rock lies on the ſhore, is ſix fathom water, and the bottom ſtone or ſand.

Another anchoring place was diſcovered facing a broken rock: hence are alſo ſeveral other rocks, and the country of a clayey ſoil overrun with thiſtles and broom, and watered by ſtreams from the neighbouring heights. The beach conſiſts of ſmall gravel; and at the diſtance of a muſket ſhot is a good anchoring place in nine fathom at low water, and a ſandy bottom. All theſe ſtations are ſheltered from the N. and N. E. winds, by the cape which alſo breaks the violence of the ſea. Cape Gorda conſiſts of rocks reſembling red marble decorated with yellow and white ſpots; and is frequented by innumerable flights of birds. The iſland of Tortuguilla, by the Californians called Serro blanco or the white mountain, lies E. and W. from Gorda point on the other ſide which is lower; and bears from San Gabriel de las Almajas or Sal-ſi-puedes, S. S. E. and N. N. W. Theſe capes form a large bay, half of which is ſurrounded with mountains; the other part is low and ſandy. At the end of thoſe mountains is a ſpring, ſituated among the rocks, the water of which the Indians of that place make uſe of in time of ebb. There is alſo a rancheria of Indians on the low coaſt behind the laſt piece of high land, a ſmall ſpring of brackiſh water being found here in a kind of bog. The people on ſeeing the canoes took us for divers, and fled up the country; the outrages and brutality of thoſe men having rendered them equally dreaded and deteſted by all the natives of California: but on being acquainted by ſome of their countrymen, who were with me, that a father was come in the canoes, they immediately returned. The great ſea which runs here even in fair weather would not allow us to ſtay: and it was with great difficulty we took in a little water. We now attempted to weather the cape of San Gabriel de Sal-ſi-puedes ſo greatly dreaded by ſeamen, on account of thoſe iſlands, ſeveral contiguous points of land, and many ledges of ſunken rocks extending a great way from the land. Here the ſea is ſo agitated by the current, that a gale or a calm makes but little difference. Among the capes oppoſite to a yellow cavern and a ſhore of white ſand, is an anchoring place ſheltered from all winds except the E. and a little on this ſide of it is a creek, at the mouth of which is three fathom at low water: further up two; and afterwards only half a fathom. On the land or W. ſide it is deeper than to the eaſtward: the bottom is compoſed of ſand and ſhells. Soon after we had anchored, the Indians before mentioned at the watering place, came to me with their children, deſiring they might be baptized. Oppoſite to cape San Gabriel, the famous iſlands of Sal-ſi-puedes begin; which at the middle of the ſtreight formed four channels. As we were departing, two new converts came with advice that the Indians further up the country were coming in a warlike manner, with a reſolution to kill me and all my company. They gave me ſeveral bundles of arrows for my men, adviſing me to keep a good look out.

15th, In the afternoon, by the help of a S. E. wind, we went out of this harbour which terminates in a black cape of rocks, on both ſides of which are caverns and a ledge of rocks extended all along the ſea, as far as the next bay called San Raphael, where are ſeveral ſunken rocks and capes; but among them many caves for canoes and a tolerable good harbour; a favourable wind aſſiſted us to weather thoſe capes, but I was obliged to leave it in order to take a ſurvey of the bay. It is moſtly level and ſandy, eſpecially towards the E. ſide; partly bordered by rocks and high banks of ſand; in ſome parts beach. The three iſles near California lying before this bay are, by reaſon of their diſtance, no defence to it againſt the ſea. At the cloſe of evening we anchored near a part of the ſhore ſheltered from the S. E. wind.

16th, Though the ſea was rough we proceeded to take a ſurvey of the remaining part of the bay. At the mouth of the Cadacaman we ſaw ſome Indians to whom we ſent word, that they ſhould forbear any hoſtilities againſt the divers: their anſwer was that neither they nor any of the inhabitants of the coaſts committed any but the mountaineers only. The N. E. wind hindered us from reaching the watering place of San Raphael: but gave us an opportunity of diſcovering ſeveral ſprings of hot water, near ſome white rocks. At full ſea they are covered: but at low water are ſeen iſſuing from the ſand, behind ſome fragments of rocks. There are alſo others along the ſame beach, at the beginning of a ſandy bay. At full ſea the water for the ſpace of half a league is tinged with red mixed with a faint blue. Here we met with ſome Indians, who inhabited the coaſt, and others who reſided among the mountains, and ſeemed to be of a cheerful, friendly diſpoſition. They offered all the preſents their poverty would admit of, but we only accepted of a little fiſh, and that they were well paid for. On hearing that we were going to the watering place of San Raphael, they accompanied us, and we arrived there at ſun ſet. Here is but little ſhelter for canoes, ſo that the ſafeſt way is to ground them. Not far from the beach is a large pond, and near it a well, which when cleanſed affords good water. Here we found a great number of Indians, who appeared very well pleaſed at ſeeing us, and made us preſents of fiſh, though they had the year before killed a diver, being informed by thoſe whom we had met, that the canoes did not belong to thoſe people; but that a father was coming. This aſſured them of good treatment; and out of curioſity to ſee him.

him, they all came down together to the ſhore. But on ſeeing ſome of the natives of the other coaſt whom, from their wan complexion, they call Yaques, they began to whiſper to one another, till, no longer able to conceal their averſion, they openly aſked their chriſtian countrymen, why the father, as he was coming this way, would have any Yaques with him. I have already intimated that theſe animoſities of the Californians againſt the Yaques proceeds from the hoſtilities committed againſt them, and the depredations their rancherias have ſuffered from them. In the diving time they endeavour to drive them from the country: ſo that it is no more than natural, that ſavages, whoſe vindictive temper has not been ſoftened by inſtruction, ſhould make little ſcruple of killing a Yaque wherever they meet with him. At our return from the expedition we had a ſignal proof of the terror which theſe exceſſes had impreſſed on their minds, for many whole families who were come down, being told when night came on to withdraw with their wives and children to a place of ſafety, ſhewed ſome unwillingneſs; and when I urged them, they anſwered, that if they went away, the Yaques would come in the night to their dwellings. I bid them not be afraid; for the centinels of the ſoldiers and natives would hinder any ſuch deſign; and that if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, aſſiſtance ſhould immediately be ſent them. At this they ſeemed eaſy and went away, being firſt informed that thoſe whom I had with me from the other coaſt, I had brought as men who underſtood the management of canoes, which their Californian countrymen, from reſiding in the mountains, knew nothing of.

17th, I called the Indians together, and talked with them of the injuſtice of the action, ſhewed them the foulneſs of the crime, and the danger to which they expoſed themſelves by a return of the like violences; and repreſented to them the inconveniencies of their wild life, and the indecency of their cuſtoms. In the mean time water had been taken on board; and we ſailed away with a favourable land breeze, which however ſoon after failed us, and we were obliged to go round the cape by rowing. Between this cape and another formed by the coaſt of San Antonio northward of the former, the ſhore forms a ſemicircular bay. A little farther is a duſky mountain which being a peninſula, has on one ſide a ſhelter for the S. E. winds; and on the other from the N. A little beyond the middle of this coaſt, are two other creeks nearly contiguous, but the many ſunken rocks thereabouts make the entrance very difficult. Through theſe openings you have the proſpect of a fertile country, but the ſhore being very dangerous, a more accurate view could not be taken. Here two Indians from San Raphael called to us from the top of the rocks, telling us that a little farther there was a bay; and that they were going to inform the inhabitants of our coming. After having rowed the greateſt part of the day, we in the night obſerved an inlet, ſurrounded with high mountains; but after getting round the cape, we found it had a ſhore, where at the foot of the mountains canoes might be ſafe from the E. and S. E. winds. We continued our way for ſome time in the dark, without well knowing whither we were going, till we had ſight of ſeveral large fires; and thence concluded that we were not far from the ſhore, which however we did not reach till midnight. As we were unacquainted with it, and to avoid any hoſtility from the Indians, among whom it is a ſtratagem to ſet fire to their cottages, and lurk in ſome adjacent place, in order to ſurpriſe and fall upon any that come thither, we lay at an anchor till day came on.

18th, The preceding night was very troubleſome on account of the continual rowlings of the canoes. In the morning finding ourſelves near a ſtony ſhore, we weighed anchor and went further into the bay, where three iſlands form a baſon, where any veſſel may lie ſecure from all winds, with a ſufficient depth of water, and a ſandy bottom. It has three creeks, one at each extremity, and one in the middle, which is the ſhalloweſt; and at the end of it, is the watering place. Here we landed on a very convenient and ſafe ſhore, to which we were directed by one of the Indians who had followed us. We called the bay Purgatory, in commemoration of our having amidſt the darkneſs of the night fortunately eſcaped from the multitude of rocks in it. The diſtance from the bottom of the bay to the point is about three leagues: not far from this point and the middle of the entrance, is another iſland, the land of which is remarkably broken and craggy. The inhabitants of the country came to pay me their compliments; and beſides ſome agreeable preſents for the comfort of their bodies, I did not diſmiſs them without diſcourſing on the ſalvation of their ſouls in a manner beſt ſuited to their capacities. The neighbouring country, conſidering it is a part of California, is not deſpicable.

19th, The canoes which had anchored in a ſufficient depth of water, in the morning were grounded; the water having ebbed away more than a fathom. We took in water, and were preparing to ſail, when an Indian came as an expreſs that the mountaineers had the night before intended to give us a morning viſit: but as all who had been concerned in this purpoſe were not come, they referred paying it till they arrived at the watering place: at laſt we were obliged to put to ſea with a contrary wind, which increaſing, hindered us from weathering the cape; and all we could do was to run in ſhore near the northern extremity of the bay, which, though ſurrounded with mountains, has a good ſhore of ſand; but with ſome rocky ſpots.

20th, We weathered cape Las Animas, which is every where bordered with rocks above and under water. The two points lie S. W. and N. E. from each other. North of this cape is a low iſland which, with the rocks that run from it to a great diſtance into the ſea, appears triangular. It is only the haunt of ſea wolves and fowls. A little farther are ſeveral convenient inlets affording ſhelter from the S. E. and N. winds, which are moſt to be feared in this ſtreight. Not far from hence is alſo another cape in the form of a trident with reefs of ſunken rocks running into the ſea near half a league. Here is generally a great agitation of the water. Beyond this cape veſſels, at leaſt ſmall craft, may lie ſecure from the S. E. winds: this is followed by a bay called

De Los Angeles. Along its entrance runs a chain of iſlands which contribute to its ſecurity; their number is ſo great that we could not count them either in going or returning. Moſt of them are lofty, but of no great circumference. The bay is large and affords anchorage for all kinds of veſſels. The water extends to the foot of an eminence which makes a part of the high and craggy ſerrania or ridge of mountains: for going directly to the ſpring the land-mark on the ſtarboard ſide is a black rock, beyond which are ſome others white. On the larboard ſide is a ſand a league in length, projecting from the low land. Beſides theſe marks the verdure of the herbs growing near the ſpring ſhew the watering-place. The water is good, and being on an eminence may be eaſily taken on board. It is ſufficient for watering ſhips, but not for the lands, there being no great quantity of it. The Indians here were an aſſemblage of different rancherias; they were all well armed, very haughty, and had quivers full of arrows contrary to the cuſtom of the country. Beſides the precaution given us at Los Animas, their geſtures and cries gave us to underſtand they had no good deſign. We however endeavoured by all manner of preſents and ſigns of affection to make them eaſy, but to no purpoſe, continuing with confuſed

fuſed cries and ſhewing their bows to challenge us to an engagement. This induced us to make preparations againſt any night aſſault; their courage never failing to call in the aids of treachery, and they watch the time of the night as the fitteſt for a ſurpriſe. They approach with all the caution and ſilence imaginable, diſcharge their arrows, then give a ſhout and fly. Theſe Indians in their aſſault on us had divided themſelves, ſome being poſted on the N. at a little diſtance from our camp; others ſouthward and nearer, in order to have us, as it were, between two fires and utterly cut off our retreat. The natives of the bay of Los Angeles, elevated with the murders they had committed on the divers, looked upon themſelves as invincible, eſpecially as they were joined by auxiliaries from all the rancherias with whom they were in friendſhip; ſo that poſſibly ſuch a number of them was never before ſeen together; but by the favour of the Almighty this formidable army was diſperſed only by a ſally of five ſoldiers, and thirty chriſtian Indians; who about three in the afternoon marched out againſt the largeſt body, who was encamped on the north ſide. Theſe arrogant cowards at the ſight of our men, without ſtanding one fire, fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving behind them even their wives and children; nor did they ſtop till they had reached the very ſummit of the rocks, where concluding they were ſafe, they ſkipped, ſhouted, and made many threatening poſtures which we did not think worth regarding. We examined all their caverns and retreats, but finding only the women and children, which had unnaturally been left behind, we treated them with all poſſible marks of tenderneſs, aſſuring them that no harm ſhould happen to them; but all our promiſes were not ſufficient to hinder them from running away, and leaving their children. Theſe were taken care of with the few women that remained, whilſt others went after the fugitives to endeavour to bring them back; but it being now ſun-ſet, and the mountain extremely difficult, they returned: ſome muſkets were fired to terrify them which it did to ſuch a degree that though the remaining part of the mountain above them was remarkably ſteep, it is incredible with what agility they gained the utmoſt peak, and the next morning not one of them was to be ſeen; the other body who lay to the ſouthward continued without making any motion: and tho' we concluded that either of themſelves by ſpies, or by ſome of the northern fugitives, they would hear of the fate of their confederates, to prevent their attacking us in the night; yet the centinel at that quarter was ordered to fire from time to time. We enquired of the women left behind what was the reaſon of ſuch a concourſe of people, and they ingenuouſly confeſſed they belonged to the rancherias of the north, ſome of which had failed coming; that the time appointed for the general meeting had been that night; that an Indian, father of ſome girls then preſent was the chief of the northern rebels, who fomented a hatred againſt all thoſe who came in canoes; they added of their own accord, that the deſign of dividing themſelves into two parties was to hem us in on every ſide, that we might not eſcape. On their aſking for water, we gave them alſo ſomething to eat, and the children we pleaſed with ſweetmeats, then directed them to go to ſleep without any fear, that the centinel would take care of them. One thing raiſed our admiration, namely, the total nakedneſs of the girls. The Californians of the Cochimy nation, tho' extremely poor, and have no cloathing, yet decency and modeſty have taught them to make a kind of apron of the filaments of ſedge ſtrung on threads of miſcal, which reach from the belly to the knee; and this, I think, ſhews a great regard to that virtue which conſtitutes female excellence; and a woman who is pregnant, in caſe the child ſhould prove of her own ſex, provides it with a little apron of this ſort; but we ſaw nothing of that commendable practice in the territory of this bay. Let us hope that by the favour of heaven, it will be ſoon introduced, and that by the light of the faith they will come to ſee the turpitude of ſuch nudity.

21ſt, The Indians were ſent away with their children and effects; but leave was hardly given before they, like the former, left their children, and in ſhort, all their effects. They were ſoon brought back again, and freſh arguments uſed with them not to be in the leaſt afraid, and to acquaint their huſbands and the reſt of the people, that they alſo might be perfectly eaſy and return to the weſt, and the watering-place; and that if they had been purſued the day before, it was not with an intent of hurting them, but that as they had provoked the chriſtians by an unbecoming deſign of falling on them by night, it was neceſſary to ſhew them notwithſtanding their great numbers, we were not in the leaſt afraid of them: that had we been enemies, we ſhould have killed their wives and children; that they might be aſſured of a ſincere peace; that we were chriſtians, and as ſuch made war on no nation, but endeavoured every where to promote tranquility and benevolence; that theſe canoes and the people in them were under the direction of a father who had a great love for the Indians. This diſcourſe made them perfectly eaſy, ſo that they took up their children and utenſils and retired to their countrymen; afterwards ſome of our people, having ſight of a ſpy coming from the ſouthern party, ran after him, but he was too nimble for them; however in the purſuit they met with a woman who informed them of another watering-place. The people had all diſperſed, and in the place ſhe mentioned we found a great deal of freſh ſedge lately cut. In the mean time ſome of the northern party appeared, poſſibly moved by the report of their wives, or the ſight of their children and effects, which they had left behind, or compelled by thirſt, there being no water within a great diſtance, except at the place where we were encamped. In the evening when the great heats were abated, three ſoldiers with the Indians who came in the canoes, went to take a view of the coaſt towards the ſouth: in their way they ſaw ſome Indians on a mountain, but our men making towards them, they with an activity ſeldom ſeen in Europeans, climbed up the peak. They did not reach the watering-place, as the ſun was juſt ſetting, but returned to the boats. The land-wind here blew ſo freſh, that in the morning it tore away the tent in which maſs was ſaid. At night its violence increaſed, ſo that one of the canoes broke from her anchor, and was not recovered till near the iſlands which defend the entrance of the bay of Los Angeles.

22d, We continued our voyage with a favourable wind, which for ſome hours was ſucceeded by a hard gale from the land, that we were obliged to make for ſhore. On the beach we ſaw ſeveral Indians armed with bows and arrows, but on our approach, they fled as uſual. We purſued them till late, and not knowing whether we could weather the cape, and there find ſhelter for our canoes; we ran into the northern elbow of the bay, which is large enough to contain a great number of ſhips, and terminates in a ſhallow creek where the current of the ebb is extremely violent.

23d, We got round the point of Los Angeles, which in reſpect of the other lies N. N. E. and S. S. W. The N. N. E. point is formed by three craggy eminences, at the foot of which are a great many rocks, ſome ſunken and others appearing above water. In it are two ports affording ſhelter in bad weather; but it muſt be noted, that oppoſite an iſland, above the cordelera of the iſland of Los Angeles is a cape bordered with a multitude of rocks.

The

The coaſt as far as Los Remedios is alſo rocky and gravelly. The bay of Nueſtra Senora de Los Remedios begins at a ſmall iſland, and near a white ſhore. In this bay is ſhelter from the S. E. winds, and ſome black eminences ſecure it from the N. Here is a pearl fiſhery.

24th. Being now wind-bound, ſome went to take a view of the mountains; but found nothing remarkable. They imagined to have diſcovered a bay; but it was the coaſt, which, with regard to the large iſland del Angel de la Guarda, has the appearance of a bay. This iſland begins a little beyond cape San Raphael, and terminates a little on this ſide of San Juan and San Pablo. This iſland, which is very mountainous, has ſeveral bays and capes: its extremity on the S. E. part is narrow, but northwards ſomething broader. The channel betwixt this iſland and the coaſt is ſo full of whales, that it is called Daranal de Balenas. Whilſt ſome were taking a view of the country, we made an experiment of diving for pearls: and the ſhells near the ſhore were found better than thoſe in the offing.

25th, We were for ſailing out with a land-gale, but the violent ſqualls with which it was accompanied, detered us from venturing: at length it ceaſed: and during the remainder of the day we proceeded, it being ſometimes calm, and ſometimes the wind contrary. We kept along the coaſt which is very mountainous, and the ſea ſo full of ſunken rocks, that the canoes often ſtruck againſt them: that in which I was ſtruck twice, and thereby damaged her rudder. A light canoe was ſent before in order to get every thing ready for taking in water. The Indians of the country perceived us, and running to their arms, ſet up thoſe ſhouts and outcries which are cuſtomary among them before an action. Theſe were intermixed with leapings and ridiculous geſticulation. But when they ſaw that our people put the canoe aſhore and leaped on the beach, well armed, they betook themſelves to their uſual refuge the ſummits of the mountains. Here they ſtopped; and our men called out to them. But ſuch was their fear, that inſtead of entering into a conference, they turned about and fled. At ſun ſet we came to a level gravelly ſhore; but unſafe: however the want of water, and being unacquainted with the coaſt beyond it, obliged us to ſtay here, though with ſome danger.

26th, Some people were ſent up a pretty large creek, to ſee if there was any watering place thereabouts: which was conjectured from ſome freſh palm branches, and flags which had been left there by the Indians; but were certainly brought from other parts, as our people found neither tree nor flag in all their ſearches. Others who had followed the tract of the Indians in their flight found a pond at a few leagues diſtance. In order to find the watering place, the following marks, in coming from the ſea, ſhould be obſerved. The ſhore is narrow and of a white ſand, terminating at a hill of a reddiſh colour. This place was dedicated to St. John and St. Paul, the day we viſited it being the feſtival of thoſe martyrs.

27th, We departed with a land breeze; and after ſailing by ſome low hills along the coaſt, we ſaw on a neighbouring mountain two Indians, who called to us, but we were too far below them to underſtand what they ſaid. However from their being in an inacceſſible place, and their inſulting geſtures, we ſuppoſed they challenged us to an action. Perceiving we took no notice of them, they brandiſhed their bows and arrows with loud acclamations, leaping at the ſame time with great agility. One eſpecially diſtinguiſhed himſelf in theſe feats of activity, either by way of parade, or as more enraged againſt us; his motions were ſurpriſingly quick, ſometimes dancing, ſometimes turning round on one foot, till at laſt forgetting himſelf in the conceit of his dexterity, and not attending to the danger of the rocks, his foot ſlipped and he rolled down the precipice like a ſtone: but to our aſtoniſhment he received no harm, climbing up again; though not with his uſual celerity, and even his companions came to aſſiſt him. This occaſioned a great deal of diverſion to our people, but the Indians were ſo aſhamed, that they made off, and we had no farther ſight of them. At noon we opened a bay, which has a deceitful appearance of ſafety, the only ſheltering place being behind the firſt point: and this is rocky, with a narrow beach, which at ſpring tides, is entirely under water. The mountains ſurrounding this bay, have the appearance of rich mines. We took a view of the remaining part of the bay, whilſt others went to view the coaſt; and having found the whole of it to be full of rocks, and the ſun being near ſetting, we came to an anchor.

28th, We ſet ſail with a land wind, but a ſquall from between the mountains carried away one of our maſts, which in its fall hurt one ſeaman and was near killing two others. We paſſed by ſome rugged eminences, which project a conſiderable diſtance into the ſea. On weathering a white cape ſurrounded by rocks; ſome above and others under water, we entered a bay, not very ſpacious and ſhaped like a G. In the part betwixt a huge rock on the land

and the cape, is good anchoring ground; and facing the rock a veſſel lies ſheltered from the S. E. wind. At low water indeed a great many rocks appear above the ſea. The other point would afford good ſhelter from the N. wind, were it not for the rocky bottom and the very extraordinary fall of the ebb. About a quarter of a league from an inlet is a pond; but the water turbid and impalatable. We called the bay St. Peter and St. Paul, for our entering it on the anniverſary of thoſe great apoſtles.

29th, It being calm, we rowed out of the bay; and when we had got round the white-cape, opened another bay running weſt and ſouth weſt. It is of a conſiderable extent; has ſeveral iſlands, and includes the leſſer bay of San Luis Gonzaga. On this ſide of it the ſhore forms ſome elbows, but ſhallow; and in one of them we ſaw a kind of ſhells, which though of naker, were very beautiful and reſembled the ſhell of the genuine white pearls. We did not take a view of it; referring it till we reached the other ſide, but the weather did not favour us till our return, when on a ſurvey we found the bay to be capable of receiving any number of ſhipping. It is ſeparated by a narrow channel from another harbour; and both are ſecure from all winds and ſeas. It has ſeveral creeks which abound with fiſh: and this cauſes a great reſort here of the neighbouring rancherias. But amongſt theſe advantages it wants the greateſt: for the water in it is too ſalt for uſe. Indeed ſix leagues up the country, it is perfectly good, but very ſcarce. To ſee if ſuch good harbours did not alſo afford freſh water, we dug wells nine feet deep, but to no purpoſe.

After three days our extreme want of water, drove us out of the bay to ſearch for it in another place. Theſe harbours are formed by an iſland of ſuch a length, that from the ſea it appears to be main land. Beyond this bay, in the white ſhore forming a creſcent betwixt two black mountains, called San Sebaſtian, we found a river of brackiſh water, but beyond in the contiguous ſerrania the Indians informed us there was better and many palm trees, which we found true; but made little advantage of them. We paſſed three other capes, and in the evening came to a little creek, where the canoes lay ſafe from the S. E. wind, but it is full of ſunken rocks. Here we found a balza, but no traces of any people belonging to it.

30th, Before break of day came on, we ſaw a light moving along the ſhore; from whence we inferred that there was a watering place in the neighbourhood: accordingly ſome people were ſent early in queſt of it; and having found it, returned with an old man bringing an earthen pitcher, which they are very ingenious in making; a piece of induſtry unknown to the northern Indians, and alſo to the chriſtians who lived beyond them in the ſame direction, till they were taught it by the inhabitants of the other ſide of the bay. Having this intelligence of the water and a good ſhore, at eleven o'clock we proceeded with the wind at S. E. but blowing freſh and oppoſite the current, cauſed ſuch a ſea, as greatly retarded our arrival at the intended port, though at no great diſtance. Here we found a great number of Indians, from ſeveral rancherias; and whoſe dialect could hardly be underſtood. Their deportment had all the ſigns of ſullenneſs and ferocity, and one of them was making ready his bow in order clandeſtinely to diſcharge an arrow at me: but I prevented him by taking no notice of his deſign, and changing my place. We treated them with all poſſible courteſy, and beſides victuals, diſtributed among them ſeveral toys and trifles with which they were highly pleaſed; and made us returns in feathers with which they adorn their heads. Theſe they would have us accept of as tokens of their good will: though this was no more than a feint, for they ſufficiently ſhewed their quarrelſome intentions by licking their arrows, which among them is a kind of preparative for an engagement. We now came down from an eminence we had aſcended to enjoy the freſhneſs of the wind, the heat being unſupportable near the ſhore; when the Indians again challenged us by their leapings and ſhouts. A chriſtian boy of a ſprightly diſpoſition taking a rag in his hand mocked the ridiculous geſtures of the ſavages. This ſarcaſm provoked them ſo, that they ſent one among them whom we had beſt underſtood with a formal challenge, but he added they were many in number and had prepared an ambuſh. We readily conceived that this information did not proceed from ignorance, but was a ſtudied fineſſe to intimidate us. The anſwer was that we would very readily give them ſatisfaction. The word was no ſooner given, than ſix ſoldiers and twenty ſix Indian archers marched out. The alacrity with which they aſcended the eminence, together with the courage and agility of a chriſtian in taking away and breaking the arrow of an Indian, who was going to diſcharge it at him, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the ſavages, that they immediately retired. But one party came up with ſome, with whom the ſoldiers and chriſtian Indians returned except two, who had raſhly continued the purſuit. I had no ſooner ſeen their temerity, than I ſent away the people who had remained with me and the canoes. They were ſoon out of ſight and came to a place, where ſeveral rancherias had joined together againſt us; and our two men ſeeing the danger they had plunged themſelves into, one of them called out, with a reſolute compoſure, as if he had a body of men behind him, and pointing ſeveral ways with great eagerneſs ſaid, let ſome go on that ſide, others on this; haſten ſome yonder, and form a circle that we may fall on theſe ſavage mountaineers, before they can make their eſcape. The Indians were drawn up in a line with their weapons in their hands, but ſtruck with what they heard, did not proceed to any act of hoſtility; whilſt they were in this ſuſpenſe, thoſe who had been ſent to aſſiſt our two deſperadoes came in ſight, and the Indians concluding the imaginary aſſault was now going to be made on them, betook themſelves to flight, leaving their wives, children and neceſſaries: all were taken care of with that punctuality and tenderneſs which chriſtianity enjoins; particularly in caſes where the conſequences may be very detrimental or advantageous to its propagation. Several of the men who were taken priſoners being infidels and unacquainted with the chriſtian cuſtoms, made an offer of their wives and their neceſſaries for a ranſom. Night coming on a guard was ordered to take care of the priſoners whilſt they ſlept. In this rancheria our men ſaw a dog, which was the only one ſeen among the Californians before the father miſſionaries came among them.

July 1. We releaſed the priſoners, after adviſing them, that if any canoes came to their coaſt, they ſhould forbear all inſults and hoſtilities. Two we kept to ſhew us the way to the watering place. It was late before we got under way, having been obliged to wait for a canoe, which had gone further up, though the coaſt is very unſafe as being flat and rocky: yet the ſqualls which fly all round the compaſs obliged us to run the canoes aſhore, having been informed that further on there was ſtill water. The diſtance of the canoes from the watering place, hindered us from taking in our full quantity, that we might look out for a ſafer ſtation. Some went aſhore to trace the coaſt: but hearing the ſhouts of a troop of gentiles on the mountains, and fearing to be intercepted by them, returned, ſignifying to them by geſtures that they would ſoon be with them. But the Indians renewing their ſhouts and pointing to the water, fled. In this brook we ſaw ſome palm trees which had been carried away by the floods. The marks for finding this watering place of San Eſtaniſlao are a reddiſh rock near the ſerrania; and along the coaſt ſome red walls in the low part of the ſhore: before coming to theſe walls there is an eaſy road to the watering place, where having continued till noon we went further, but the wind blowing very hard, and a great ſurf continually breaking in on the canoes, it was midnight before we could reach the place we had in view.

2d, We entered the bay of la Viſitation, in one extremity of which is good ſhelter though not very large. We here again ſaw Indians, who upon ſeeing us, behaved like the reſt of their countrymen. But one belonging to San Eſtaniſlao ſhewed us a watering place, ſituated at a very convenient diſtance, ſo that it was thought better to ſend a canoe back to San Eſtaniſlao, to take in water, while one of them which leaked very much was refitting. Here the bay which begins at San Luis Gonzaga terminates. The neighbourhood of San Eſtaniſlao and la Viſitation affords great quantities of nakre ſhells. In our return we came here at midnight, and by the many fires which we ſaw, concluded the place to be well inhabited; and conſequently that there was water nearer than that which the Indians had ſhewn us. On this we endeavoured to ſpeak with ſome of the natives, that we might enquire about the water: early in the morning ſeveral families came down to us, but they gave us the ſame account as the former. The women here were totally naked, having not ſo much as the ſlender covering, uſed by the ſex in the more ſouthern parts, as an indication of their modeſty. Here the ſeries of iſlands which lie within the bay terminates; cape Viſitation, bearing from the bay where we anchored, almoſt due north. On this ſide of the cape, after paſſing a low gravelly point of land, is a ſmall cove proper for canoes. On the larboard ſide lie a great many rocks, and moſt of them under water; on the ſtarboard ſide is a low cape. And betwixt theſe head lands are two other coves or ſmall harbours.

3d, The canoe returned with the water: all damages were repaired, and every thing got ready for ſailing.

4th, Made ſail with a land wind, which ſhifted to the S. E. Weathered cape la Viſitation; the ſhore low, and level; the ſoil clayey, and rocky. We continued our courſe till the afternoon, when the wind being contrary, we anchored near a bed of ſhells newly thrown aſhore. In the evening we were for removing from our firſt anchoring place, the canoes beating againſt the rocks, which were under water when we entered the bay, but dry at low water.

The three canoes by the ſwiftneſs of the ebb were grounded, ſo that we could not effect our deſign.

5th, We continued our voyage with oars the wind being contrary, and ſaw a great number of wild goats, and Californian ſheep. Several of our people went aſhore with a deſign of bringing off ſome of theſe creatures, and meeting with a rancheria of Indians, enquired for a watering place. They pointed to ſome flats on the ſhore, which were covered at high water, and then immediately made off. This water is ſo hot that it emits a ſmoke and has a ſulphureous ſmell. Thoſe who followed the goats took a view of the ſhore, and found a deep well of brackiſh water, whither we came about ſun ſet. Some who walked up the country met with two families, and one of the Indians immediately aſked if they were enemies: and on the chriſtians replying that they were friends to them and all mankind, they accompanied them to the canoes, and theſe were the laſt Indians with whom we converſed: and even this was with great difficulty, on account of their ſtrange deviation from the Cochime idiom, of which they retain only a few words. This place I am inclined to think is the furtheſt limits of the pearl beds, having ſeen none beyond it.

6th, Fifteen men went aſhore to view the country and endeavour to find better water. We lay in a bay on the ſouth ſide, and eaſt of us was a ſtony point running a conſiderable diſtance into the ſea. Northward is a ſand bank projecting from a low point, and ſeen at low-water to run above a league into the ſea. One of our canoes ſtruck on it: and as it has ſeveral branches, we were ſometimes obliged to return a conſiderable diſtance. The low cape of this long and wide bank with another of rocks northward of it forms a bay, but ſhallow and unſafe. Having with difficulty got round the ſtony point, we had notice that the people would continue ſurveying the country and return to this ſpot. We put aſhore in queſt of the watering place which is the brook juſt mentioned; and almoſt at the water's edge; the neighbouring parts being in ſpring tides waſhed by the ſea. Here the canoes had the good fortune to fill all their veſſels: at the approach of night our ſcouts returned with intelligence that the country was barren and uncultivated; adding, that ſome leagues further there was good water, but little of it.

7th, A canoe being light and under no apprehenſion of the Indians remained here, but the others put to ſea. They were however ſoon obliged by a very high ſea to make for the ſhore. The ſea continued in the ſame agitation the whole day and night, ſo that no proviſions could be ſent to thoſe who were gone aſhore.

8th, We ſteered to another part better land-locked and called San Fermin, lying betwixt two ſand-banks. Three canoes got ſafely in; but the fourth run aground, and lay till the flood. In the mean time the loading of one was put aſhore, ſhe being ſo leaky that the proviſions were very much damaged. The water here is good; but large veſſels cannot without great difficulty make uſe of the watering places beyond la Viſitation. This part of San Fermin has two very long ſand-banks on the N. and S. that at low water they are dry for two leagues, as we ſaw at our return.

9th, It being flood we went out at three in the afternoon, but in going over the bar all were obliged to go forward. We next came to the bay of San Phelipe de Jeſus; the capes of which lie N. and S. from one another. That of the N. terminates in ſome black mountains, but being unwilling to loſe the opportunity of a fair wind, we continued our courſe, leaving the ſurvey of it till our return, and then found it to afford ſhelter againſt the N. wind, even for large veſſels; but it is at a great diſtance from the ſhore, which is ſo lined with ſand-banks that there is no landing but at high-water. The ſhore is ſandy, and on the N. ſide is a creek, which at full and change of the moon has a depth of water ſufficient for boats, but at other times is dry. At the foot of a flat eminence it affords plenty of water, but thick, diſagreeable, of an ill ſmell, and noxious in its quality. Its effects on thoſe who drink it reſembling the ſymptoms of the ſcurvy. At our return we ſtayed ſome days near this watering-place, but ſaw not a ſingle Indian: and our people being ſickly and ſpent coming from the Rio Colorado, no excurſions could be made into the country. All along the low country from la Viſitation to this harbour are ſheep and wild goats: we went round the N. point, which although at full ſea, it appears to have ſeveral ſmall inlets ſafe from the S, and S. E. winds; yet in reality has only one little ſheltering place running ſouthward, and this not proper for any thing larger than canoes. Indeed at ſpring tides, and with good cables, a larger veſſel may put into it in caſe of a hard gale at S. and S. E. but not at neap-tides, there being no depth of water nearer than a league and a half from the ſhore. From this place at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, we ſaw the land on the other ſide; and from the N. point of San Phelipe we had ſight of another cape on this ſide, which appeared to form a large bay, but it was no more than appearance, there being no ſuch bay; the point of the hill lying within the mouth of the river Colorado up the country. From this corner the ſhore is entirely level, marſhy in ſeveral parts at ſpring tides; and in hard weather overflowed. All the way from San Phelipe to the river Colorado there is neither bay nor watering-place.

10th, We made little progreſs this day, a ſtrong N. E. wind blowing from the ſhore, which was contrary to us: the points in that part running N. E. and N. N. E. the ſtreight cloſing here. At noon we got aſhore with great difficulty, the water being ſhallow and a great ſea running along this coaſt, which is extremely barren. The ſerrania or ridge of mountains is three or four leagues diſtant from the ſea, and in ſome parts more. At night we came into a better ſhore, though with a high ſea. The bottom here we found to be mixed with mud.

11th, Made but little way, and came to ſome red marſhes, whence we concluded we were near the mouth of the river Colorado or red river. We however continued our courſe till the evening, having endeavoured to land in ſeveral places, but to no purpoſe, the ſens not only hindering the boats from coming aſhore, but likewiſe would not bear thoſe who endeavoured to croſs them. Under this difficulty we came to an anchor facing an iſland, which forms a creek at the end of the ſtreight in the form of a bow: the water even here differs from that of the ſea, being of ſuch a malignant quality as to carry off the ſkin wherever it touches, and all were wet with it except myſelf; and were accordingly afflicted with very painful inflammations in the moſt ſenſible parts of the body, and which continued till the end of the expedition. In ſome the firſt ſymptoms only of the ſcurvy appeared; but in others it was arrived at ſuch a height, that during the whole return they were unable to ſtir.

12th, Had a hard gale at S. which ſeparated the canoes. One endeavoured ſeveral times, but without effect, to weather, by tacking, the point of the fen, at which the iſland mentioned yeſterday terminates. This canoe was very near foundering, the ſea running very high: another canoe was obliged to throw the greateſt part of her lading overboard; but the other two, though the lading and people were wet, had the good fortune after weathering the cape to find a ſafe ſhore, being now beyond the fens.

13th, The canoe which had put aſhore on the other coaſt, after making way the greateſt part of the night, betwixt ſeven and eight in the morning, arrived at San Buenaventura, where the lading was taken out and expoſed to the air, and the canoe grounded. Some people from the others came in ſearch of her, but were hindered by a creek.

14th, Whilſt the proviſions, cloaths, and other things were drying, a party went to take a view of the neighbouring country, and found a great many prints of men and beaſts. Thoſe at San Buenaventura uſed all poſſible endeavours to find out a watering-place, but with no ſucceſs, though they were a day and a half about it. The ſmalleſt canoe came and joined them in that part, and brought intelligence, that all the people and the canoes were ſafe in the ſame outlet of the river Colorado. Some drinkable water was found which iſſued from the river Colorado.

15 and 16th, The ſmaller canoe having aſſiſted the other in taking in water: on the 17th they removed to the ſtation where the other was.

18th, Went up the entrance of the river Colorado, and within it lies the before-mentioned iſland, which is triangular, and divides its ſtream into two arms; one in California running northward, and the other of the oppoſite ſide running N. W. The people went aſhore in the iſland, and found themſelves betwixt two rapid currents. One of the river's ebb, and the other in the ſea was flowing in with no leſs impetuoſity, that they had a very narrow eſcape; but loſt only ſome of their lading. The canoes removed to the coaſt of California as more ſecure, where in the night time they ſaw fires; but in the day time none of the Indians ſhew'd themſelves.

19th, Continued the diſcovery of the river, but the currents here became ſo rapid that the canoes could not ſtem it with rowing, that they were obliged to have recourſe to towing by which they made a little way; but as one canoe could not be towed for want of ropes, it altered its courſe and ſtood for the other ſide which was one of the three iſlands diſcovered by our people on this occaſion. On the 18th day they ſaw the firſt, which divides the river into two parts; the ſecond, like the firſt, lies in the river's bed, and faces it at a little diſtance: the third lies on the ſide of the other two; the river dividing itſelf on the ſide of this lateral iſland towards the other ſhore, forms an arm, but ſo ſmall that at low-water it is almoſt dry. This ſide of California, lying low, is overflowed by the Colorado, that all along to the foot of the mountains one ſees pieces of trees, weeds, and the like, left there by its water. Our people alſo ſaw here a kind of threſhing floors, where the natives threſh a kind of ſeed like wheat, but as ſmall as anniſeed.

20th, The canoes continued grounded, and the flood was attended with ſuch rapidity, and at the ſame time a very high ſea, that the canoe which had parted from the others, was in the greateſt danger; and the ſmalleſt which was now coming in, immediately made for it, in order to ſave the people: and it pleaſed God and his moſt holy mother that it came in time for that purpoſe, but the proviſions and effects of all on board were loſt, and the canoe was burnt to ſave the iron-work.

21ſt, The canoes were ſent to look out if any thing of the wreck had been thrown aſhore, and on the continent they found two caſks of water.

22d, The canoes were hindered from going out by the appearance of tempeſtuous weather. In the mean time the people took a view of the country, and at the diſtance of five leagues ſaw Cauzal and Sauceda.

23d and 24th, During theſe days, though we endeavoured to go forward, the wind and the current obliged us always to put back to the place whence we had come. This was an elbow near a great wall running eaſtward. The canoes were not able to make way. They who had been ſent on the ſurvey reported that the river took its courſe along the ſerrania on the ſide of California.

25th, The ſurvey of the gulph, or ſea of California being carried to its utmoſt limit, we ſteered not directly to the harbour, from whence we had ſailed; but to take a view of ſome harbours, which, by reaſon of circumſtances, had been omitted in our coming. Fifteen men travelled ſome way by land, took an exact account of the ſituation and courſe of the creek at the point of the fens; and it ſtands delineated in the map.

Firſt let it be obſerved, that in this journal we have taken no notice of the latitude, this being exactly ſet down in the map of this ſurvey.

Secondly, Let the pearl divers be perſuaded that if they do not come with a good number of people well armed and be very circumſpect, many will loſe their lives by the hands of the ſavages: for tho' after being baptized, they became tractable, ſincere, and benevolent; yet whilſt unconverted they are deſigning, haughty, and cruel, and more to ſtrangers than to thoſe of their country with whom they are at variance. Beſides being furniſhed with men and arms, *it is neceſſary* that they forbear exaſperating the Indians by any ill treatment, as robbery, bringing away their children, abuſing their wives, an injury of all others the moſt provoking; and by which, beſides their natural barbarity, they are inflamed with an implacable hatred againſt all ſtrangers who ſet foot on their ſhore. Thoſe concerned in ſuch underſtandings ſhould ſhew themſelves chriſtians, and be zealous for the honour of the Spaniſh nation, on which they have brought an indelible ſtain by the moſt ſcandalous cowardice, particularly the laſt year at San Raphael, on an occaſion which called for valour, when the ſavages after treacherouſly murdering a diver, killed another in the very ſight of the owners; and they inſtead of coming to his reſcue, fled away with precipitation. This inſpirits them to make the like attempts on others, and they will perpetrate them if it is their good fortune always to meet with ſuch cowards.

In order to prevent theſe damages, and open a way to the temporal and ſpiritual reduction of the country, a deſign was formed ſome years ſince to take an accurate ſurvey of the gulph of California, in order find out convenient places for garriſons, harbours, and miſſions. This could not be effected till the preſent year 1746, when father *Juan Antonio Balthaſar*, viſitor general of the miſſions, ſent me the father provincial's order to take a ſurvey of the gulph of California, ſpecifying the circumſtances abovementioned, in order to lay before his majeſty whom God preſerve, and his royal council, the opportunities which theſe coaſts afford for completing the conqueſt. I received the order with due obſequiouſneſs, but the execution was difficult, from the great ſcarcity here of every thing requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe, the very neceſſaries for the ſubſiſtence of the miſſionaries being not acquired without great difficulty. The importance of the ſervice however overcome every other conſideration. The miſſions having at heart this work from their zeal for the ſervice of God and his majeſty, contributed amidſt all their ſtraits, wherewith to defray the charges of canoes, ſeamen, proviſions, and every other thing neceſſary in a voyage to coaſts unknown, and inhabited only by ſavages. They likewiſe added a conſiderable number of chriſtian Cochimies, and furniſhed them with arms and cloathing.

Captain don Bernardo Rodrigues de Rea, commandant of the royal garriſon of Loretto on this occaſion, likewiſe, ſhewed his regard for religion, and his care and activity in his majeſty's ſervice, exerting himſelf to provide every thing with the utmoſt diſpatch, which was within his department. He procured a good canoe, appointed an eſcorte of ſoldiers, which was neceſſary for my ſafety, and of thoſe who went with me. And though his poſt as governor of the garriſon would not permit him to head the ſoldiers himſelf, he attended us far as San Carlos, the neareſt harbour to the frontiers, and the rendezvous of their canoes and ſoldiers, and where he perſonally diſpoſed every thing for the voyage, and remained there till our departure. Some days after an account came that the Gentiles had killed all of us, ſoldiers, ſeamen, and Indians, not leaving one alive, and had broke the canoes to pieces. It no ſooner reach'd the captain's ears than he prepared to go with a body of men in a canoe to the ſhore to certify himſelf of the fact, and to ſee the beſt remedy that could be applied, whilſt meaſures were taken better adapted for baffling the oppoſition, to the glory of Chriſt and the honour of his majeſty, which the devil carried on by thoſe under his influence. But the captain was perſuaded not to ſtir till he received a confirmation of this bad news, which from the Indians proneneſs to lying, and the circumſtances that the canoes would be reſolutely defended, were ſuppoſed, if not entirely, to be partly falſe.

And as it proved ſo the captain had no occaſion for putting his generous intention in execution. God and his holy mother, the patronneſs of theſe miſſions, grant that theſe ſervices undertaken purely for their glory, the ſalvation of ſouls, and the enlargement of his majeſty's dominions, may have the deſired iſſue, that we may ſee this end obtained; and with advantages which may enhance its glory and happineſs.

APPENDIX IV.

A deſcription of CALIFORNIA, by captain Woods Rogers, an Engliſhman, and of his voyage to the South-ſea in the year 1710.

IT is not properly aſcertained whether this country be an iſland, or joined to the continent; but we had neither time nor inclination to examine into this particular. I have heard Spaniards ſay, that ſome of their countrymen after ſailing along the coaſt of California, and as far as 42 deg. north latitude, met with ſo many ſhoals and iſlands that they thought it prudent not to go any farther. If this be true, there is great appearance of California's being joined to the continent a little farther to the northward, ſhoals and iſlands being a general indication that ſome continent is near. But the Spaniards being already maſters of more lands in this country than they can cultivate, their ſpirit for new diſcoveries is abated. The Philippine ſhips bound to Acapulco, on their arriving in 40 degrees, ſail along this coaſt, but I never heard that any one of them ever ſtood farther to the northward. In ſome old maps this country is joined to that of Yeſſo, and I am not a little inclined to think, that this is really the caſe, but ſhall not take upon me abſolutely to affirm it; and rather, if we will believe the Dutch, as the Hollanders took in theſe ſeas a Spaniſh ſhip which had ſailed quite round California, and conſequently found it to be an iſland. Nor is there any more certainty with regard to its form and extent, ſo that the reader muſt, for theſe particulars, have recourſe to the maps, and from thence judge for himſelf. With regard to that part of the country, I myſelf ſaw, it is full of mountains, barren, with ſome ſmall trees and buſhes, bearing ſeveral kinds of berries. The men whom I ſent aſhore in a boat to ſurvey the coaſt, walked near fifteen leagues to the northward, where they found great numbers of very large trees; but with regard to the good harbours the Spaniards told us of, we could ſee nothing of them near this cape. We indeed diſcerned the ſmoke of fires in ſeveral parts, from whence we concluded the country to be pretty well peopled; though of all the parts we touched at ſince our leaving England, this affords the leaſt for the ſubſiſtence of its inhabitants. At this time of the year there is almoſt conſtantly a land breeze, ſo that there is good anchorage all along the ſtarboard ſide of the bay as you enter it; but one of the beſt parts is a bank, on which there are from ten to twenty fathoms water: near the rocks, however, no bottom can be found.

During our ſtay here the weather was very mild and fair, and very little rain, though now and then hard gales of wind; but in the night very copious dews fell, which rendered the air very cool. We once ſaw near three hundred of the natives, tall, robuſt, and ſtrait as pine trees; but more ſwarthy than any of the other Indians we ſaw in the South-ſea, with long, lank, black hair, reaching down to their waſte. They were quite naked, except the women, who wear a kind of petticoat formed of the fibres of a certain herb, or of the ſkins of animals or fowl. Thoſe we ſaw were pretty well ſtricken in years, and extremely wrinkled; the young, I ſuppoſe, they concealed from us, as a wiſe precaution not to tempt our ſailors to uſe them ill; though I believe they had little reaſon to fear any attempt would have been on their chaſtity, our deſires being not inflammable by the beauties of California. Their pronunciation is remarkably guttural, their language ſeemed to reſemble their features, and their behaviour appeared to us harſh and diſagreeable. I would gladly have taken two of them with me in order to procure an account of their country, that might be relied on; but our proviſions being ſhort, I was afraid of increaſing our number. Some had bracelets, others necklaces, ſome both; made of wooden beads, pieces of ſhells, red berries, and pearls, which I ſuppoſe they have not the way of piercing, they being cut all round, and faſtened with a pita thread. They are ſo fond of theſe ornaments, that they would not accept of any of our toys, or bugle necklaces, though I had them of different colours; but knives, and other cutting inſtruments, were highly acceptable. I muſt mention one thing of their honeſty, namely, that they never meddled with any thing belonging to us, though our coopers and carpenters generally left their tools aſhore.

We could not find that they had any of thoſe neceſſary utenſils brought from Europe. Their cottages are very low, and conſiſt only of branches of trees and reeds, and, at the ſame time, ſo badly covered, as not to defend them from the weather. With regard to any thing of a garden, or cultivated land, not the leaſt veſtige was to be ſeen. While we were here, fiſh was their whole ſubſiſtence; and this, with their wretched huts, which ſeemed only to be built for a time, induced us to believe that they had no fixed dwelling, but removed hither at this ſeaſon, to provide themſelves with fiſh. Here we ſaw fiſhermen without hooks or nets, their only inſtrument is a kind of wooden ſpear, with which they are ſurprizingly dextrous at ſtriking fiſh, and, at the ſame time excellent divers. Some of our men told me, that they ſaw one of theſe Indians dive, after piercing a fiſh, and without raiſing his head above the water gave it to his companion, who was waiting in a canoe. Thoſe that pleaſe may doubt of this, but I am the rather inclined to believe it, as I myſelf have ſeen ſome of theſe divers, who on my throwing over board an old knife, would ſeize it before it had reached the bottom.

Their bread, if I may call it ſo, is a ſmall black ſeed, which they grind and eat by hanfuls. Some of our people, who uſed it to thicken their broth, ſaid it had ſomething of the taſte of coffee. They have alſo a root not very different from the yam, and a kind of pulſe in a pod or ſhell, and which our people compared to green peas. They have alſo berries, which, after being dried in the fire, have nearly the ſame taſte as dried kidney beans. Others, which the natives highly value, taſte like gooſberries; but the pulp is of an acid ſweetneſs, and in the center is a ſtone. We likewiſe ſaw a few fig trees, the fruit of which taſtes like our currants, and makes no diſagreeable ſauce. Beſides theſe we obſerved a great variety of plants, but we had no time for botanical curioſity.

By the animals we ſaw, the Californians ſeem to have a particular ſeaſon for hunting. I obſerved the inhabitants ſhewed a remarkable reſpect to one perſon, whoſe head was adorned with feathers; but in all other reſpects, they ſeem to have every thing in common. At leaſt while they bartered fiſh with us for old knives, of which we had a plentiful ſtock, we obſerved that they would give them to the firſt of their countrymen, who happened to be near; and when they had got a ſufficient number, we were at a loſs how to purchaſe any more fiſh. Their predominant vice is ſloth, caring for nothing but the preſent time. They would gaze at our people while employed in taking in water and wood, but never offered to aſſiſt them. In ſhort they ſeem of all the people I ever met with to have the greateſt averſion to labour and fatigue. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, with which they eaſily kill a bird flying. Their bows, which are about ſeven feet in length, are made of a white wood to which we are ſtrangers, and the ſtrings of their bows are of pita. Their arrows are made of reeds, pointed with a fiſh bone, well ſharpened: theſe are about four feet and a half long. Moſt of their cutting tools are of the teeth of ſea wolves. In ſome of their necklaces I obſerved two or three large pearls, and our Spaniſh priſoners, told me that they found a great many in the gulf of California, where the miſſionaries are ſettled; they added, that the internal part of the country, as far as the continent of Mexico is very fertile and pleaſant, abounding in horned cattle, and all kinds of proviſions: when we were ſtanding off to ſea, ſome of our people told me they had ſeen ſtones remarkably heavy, and of a glittering appearance, as if they contained ſome kind of metal; but their information was given too late, otherwiſe I ſhould have taken ſome of them on board for making experiments on them. A few of the natives, who had contracted a familiarity with us, uſed to come on board our ſhips, the conſtruction of which filled them with admiration. They have only balzas or floats, which they guide by paddles. We gave one of them a ſhirt; but inſtead of putting it to the uſe intended, he tore it into ſeveral pieces and diſtributed them among his companions, for holding the grain they uſe for bread. I think they have no kitchen utenſils; at leaſt the method of dreſſing their fiſh was no other than to bury it in the ſand, and make a fire upon the ſpot. When it was ſufficiently roaſted, they took it out, and eat it without any farther ceremony. Their method of procuring fire is by rubbing two dry ſticks againſt each other; the ſame is uſed by the other Indians of America; but they conſtantly keep a fire in their huts. The water here is extremely good. I alſo ſaw a great quantity of ſea fennel, but no uncommon birds.

The entrance of this harbour coming from the weſtward, is known by four white rocks, reſembling thoſe of the needles in the iſle of Wight, and the two on the weſt ſide appear like ſugar loaves. That neareſt the land, has an arch or aperture, like a bridge, under which the water runs. In entering the harbour the rock neareſt the ſea muſt be left a cable's length on the larboard ſide; and as ſoon as you are paſt it, ſtand directly for the bottom of the bay, which is every where ſafe, and has from ten to twenty five fathom, ſathom water. Here a ſhip is land-locked from the north eaſt to the ſouth eaſt; though ſhould a ſtrong ſoutherly wind ſet in, a ſhip would have but a very indifferent road; but this did not happen during my ſtay.

APPENDIX V.

Extract of ſome paſſages in the voyage of commodore Anſon; with a vindication of the jeſuits.

IN the laſt war between the crowns of Spain and England, the latter ſent in the year 1740, a ſquadron into the South-ſea under the command of commodore Anſon; who having doubled cape Horne, and ranged the coaſts of Peru and New Spain, * ſteered to the Marian iſlands to wait for the Philippine galleon in her return from Acapulco. He ſucceeded and found on board four millions of dollars. This rich prize he carried to China, and thence round the cape of Good Hope to Europe. Of this voyage Mr. Richard Walter, who was in the expedition, publiſhed an account from the journals and papers of the ſaid commodore. A French tranſlation of this work

---

* Not till he had pillaged the town of Payta and taken ſeveral ſhips.

was publiſhed at Amſterdam in the year 1749.

In this account mention is made of California, on occaſion of the commerce to the Philippine iſlands, and the courſe thither: and the origin and ſtate of its miſſions are briefly touched upon. The writer being a proteſtant nothing is to be expected from his pen, but a ſatire againſt the jeſuits. Nor has he taken any care to be one of thoſe few who, though proteſtants never loſe ſight of candour and modeſty in their writings. It was for his intereſt to pleaſe the publick of London, and he was unwilling to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of gratifying them with ſuch a repreſentation of the jeſuits, as he thought would be moſt acceptable, though at the expence of probity and truth. Walter's imaginary accuſation of the jeſuits, would not be worth regarding, were it not for the melancholy experience, proteſtants have publiſhed nothing againſt the ſociety of jeſuits however falſe and groundleſs, which has not been countenanced and adopted both by the tongues and pens of ſome catholicks, who delight in venting their inſults againſt it; whilſt the ſociety wholly attentive to fulfil thoſe ends for which its great leader has planted it in his church, never intermeddles with any over whom religion has not given it ſome charge or ſuperiority. This is the motive for delivering my ſentiments on the ſaid account, leſt my ſilence might be conſtrued as a tacit acknowledgement of what Mr. Walter has advanced.

Walter employs the 10th chapter of the 2d book in deſcribing the manner of carrying on the commerce betwixt the city of Manilla the capital of the iſland of Luzon and Acapulco on the coaſt of Mexico: and after diſcanting on the conqueſts of the Philippines, the claims, conteſts and compacts of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal, the grant from the pope, Magellan's voyage, the ſettlements of the Spaniards, the ancient commerce with Calao, and the difficulty of the voyages in a direct courſe; he relates, that the wrong method of ſailing was altered by advice of a jeſuit, who perſuaded the Spaniards, that in returning from the Philippine iſlands they ſhould ſail away northward before the brizas or trade winds, till they came into the weſterly winds which generally prevail in the higher latitudes; and which would in a ſhort time bring them in ſight of the coaſt of California. This opinion was in ſome meaſure right; but that it came from a jeſuit is grounded only on a flying report, which may have no more truth in it than many others. He adds, that this new method has been practiſed at leaſt for one hundred and ſixty years paſt, ſir Thomas Cavendiſh having

ing in the year 1586, engaged a veſſel bound from Manilla to America. However the preſent plan of navigation is not entirely approved of by the Engliſh admiral; and as it may be of uſe to the Spaniards ſailing on theſe ſeas to be acquainted with the opinion of ſuch an expert and celebrated navigator as lord Anſon, I ſhall add that his writer Walter, book III. chap. 8. ſpeaking again of the route betwixt the Philippine iſlands and Acapulco, treats with great ridicule the extraordinary precautions in the inſtructions given to the galleon at Manilla, as rendering the voyage more tedious and ſickly. The captain is ordered not to go beyond 30 deg. northward: whereas ſays he if they ſtood to the 40 or 45th, they would be aſſiſted by the trade winds; and thus freed from the embarraſſments which they now labour under from the reſtriction not to make ſail. In this latitude alſo they would find the weſterly winds much ſtronger and briſker. According to their own journals they are often five or ſix weeks in getting into the latitude of 30 degrees. Whereas in a north eaſterly or northerly courſe, they would in the * fourth part of

---

* Mr. Walter's words are as follows. "It appears from thoſe journals of theirs which I have ſeen, that they are often a month or ſix weeks after laying the land, before they

of the time reach the latitude of 40 degrees, where the weſterly winds would much ſooner carry them on the coaſt of California.

The preſent uſual route of the galleon is to ſtand to the northward, but no further than the latitude of 30 degrees, till they fall in with the weſterly winds. By the help of theſe ſhe ſtretches in the ſame parallel along the tremendous ſpace of 96 degrees of longitude from cape Spiritu Santo, till ſhe finds the ſea covered with a floating herb, thought to be ſea wrack. This indicates that they are near California: then they ſing a Te Deum; but do not make the coaſt till they come into a lower latitude, by reaſon of the many iſlands and ſhoals. They ſteer away ſouthward, and in their extreme precaution do not endeavour to come within ſight of land, till they find themſelves near cape San Lucas; and this for aſcertaining the reckoning, and receiving intelligence whether there are any enemies looking out for them. In all this immenſe tract, there is not a ſingle harbour to put into. The only expedient for procuring water is from the rains

---

they get into the latitude of 30 degrees: whereas with a more northerly courſe it might be eaſily done in leſs than a fortnight." The author it muſt be obſerved, relies on the French tranſlation, which ſeems in ſome inſtances, to deviate ſo far from Mr. Walter's words as to miſtake his meaning.

which are generally regular betwixt the 30th and 40th degrees. This long continuance in a ſhip at ſea produces a ſcurvy, which ſweeps away great numbers of the people on board. But ſays he, were they to ſtand northward to the 40th or 45th degree, they would be delivered from the ſcurvy, the want of water and of harbours, which bring ſuch extreme ſufferings among them, only for the inconveniency of a rougher ſea and harder gales. To ſupport this opinion, Mr. Walter advances an inſtance, though in truth, inſtead of favouring his aſſertion, any commander of a Philippine ſhip who ſhould follow his opinion, would find the great inconveniency of it. He ſays that a French ſhip in 1721, by purſuing the courſe which he delineates came from China to Valle de Nanderas on the coaſt of Mexico in leſs than fifty days: but he adds, that in that ſhort ſpace of time the ſcurvy made ſuch a havock on board, that ſhe had only five or ſix remaining alive. If this unfortunate ſhip did not, as it appears, put in any where, I am not at all ſurpriſed at that calamity, as ſhe had ſtood very far to the northward. We know from experience with what violence the ſcurvy rages in the higher latitudes: we read of it with pity in the narratives of the voyages from our ſeas to the N. to Hudſon's bay, Baffin's bay and others.

It

It appears from the late voyages of the Ruſſians to the moſt northern parts of the South-ſea, of which we have given an account: it appears from the former voyages of our countrymen; and laſtly it appears even in the ſurveys of the Californian gulf, though its higheſt latitude is ſhort of 33 degrees. But if that latitude of 40 or 45 afforded a harbour or ſettlement where the ſhip could put in, where the ſcurvy might be ſtopped in its firſt ſtage by the freſh air, acids and bitter fruits and vegetables, freſh proviſions and other remedies: Laſtly where a ſhip might ſupply itſelf with water and proviſions, the ſcurvy would indeed be leſs to be dreaded than in the preſent route from the Philippines! ſo that I think that Mr. Walter, when he was for ſtrengthening his commander's opinion, inſtead of that unlucky inſtance of the French ſhip might have introduced another much more to the purpoſe, univerſally known, and likewiſe of a French ſhip Le Saint Antoine de Padone commanded by monſieur Frondal who in a voyage in the months of May, June and July 1709, ſailed from China to America, ſtood northward to 45 degrees of latitude and in the 197th degree of longitude from the common meridian of the iſland of Ferro very near the meridian of the Antipodes of Paris, where the weſterly winds carried him to America.

Nevertheleſs the ſcurvy did not rage in his ſhip as in that other deſolated ſhip, which put in to Valle de Nanderas; nor ſo much as is uſually felt in the Philippine galleon: But this was owing to monſieur Frondal's prudence in touching on the barren and open coaſt of California, in the latitude of 31 degrees: and the conſequences of this precaution, though in ſuch a wild place, enabled him proſperouſly to continue his voyage. How much would the condition of the ſhip have been bettered had he met with a commodious colony, where he might have been furniſhed with medicines, proviſions and other refreſhments.

The inference from the premiſes is, that lord Anſon's opinion concerning the courſe of the voyage from the Philippine iſlands is very juſt. But withal it is to be conſidered that from putting it in practice, it is of abſolute neceſſity to have a ſettlement of Spaniards or of Indians friends to the Spaniards; or a well provided garriſon or colony at Puerto de San Diego, or Monte Rey, or Cabo Mendo cino, or ſome other more diſtant part to be a fixed and ſafe receptacle for the Philippine galleons; as ſuch an eſtabliſhment is of great advantage to theſe iſlands, it may not poſſibly be difficult, that at preſent ſuch a colony or garriſon may be ſettled from them, under the ſame meaſures and proviſos. That it has been deſired above a century and a half; and was endowed by king Philip III.

Walter adds, that the cargo of the galleon (which tho' ſettled at ſix hundred thouſand dollars always exceeds that value) is at its return ſhared among the converts of Manilla, and that the jeſuits have the greateſt and beſt part of it. Poſſibly lord Anſon or his writer received this information from ſome interloper who had been priſoner there, and an enemy of all the religious orders in the Philippines; and particularly of the jeſuits. Though it ſeems more probable, that the writer's view in this animadverſion on the religious orders was to gratify the publick at London. It is not worth while to enter into a formal confutation of it, all Spain, America and the Philippine iſlands being very well apprized of the manner of carrying on this commerce; and of the regulations and ordinances which at all times have been made concerning it. The chief part of the cargo of the galleons belongs to the merchants of thoſe iſlands; and conſequently the produce of them at their return. The religious indeed are allowed a ſmall part of its tonnage, as otherwiſe how could they by way of exchange provide themſelves with thoſe American and European goods they ſtand in need of. This portion is regulated for all without any greater diſtinction or advantage to the jeſuits than the others: and ſo far are they from offering to tranſgreſs the ſtated limits, that examples may be produced of innumerable complaints, that the religious have been defrauded even in what has been allowed them, and ſettled by ordinances. Thus Walter's aſſertion is entirely falſe: and in America and the Philippine iſlands will be matter of laughter. But there was a neceſſity of aſſerting this under the ſhelter of his lord's authority, in order to ſpread a belief in England that the intereſts and views which carry the jeſuits and other catholick religious to the Indies, are the ſame with thoſe which carry the Engliſh to their colonies; and that at the Philippine iſlands, inſtead of being catechiſts and fathers of ſouls, their time is taken up with lucre, as the only merchants there.

Yet it was not ſufficient that the jeſuits ſhould be repreſented as at the head of the Manilla commerce, though they there, more than in any other part, labour under great poverty, fatigue, and oppoſition; the rancour and horror with which the Engliſh proteſtants are filled againſt the jeſuits, deſerved ſomething more from Walter's pen. Accordingly for their farther gratification he avails himſelf of the connection betwixt the Philippine iſlands and California; of whoſe miſſions and their preſent ſtate, he for this reaſon thinks, are not to be paſſed over in ſilence. He ſays, that though from the firſt diſcovery of California, ſome miſſionaries have viſited it from time to time; their ſervices were of no effect, till the jeſuits, animated and ſupported by a large donation from the marquis de Valero, a nobleman of great liberality and devotion, came over to this peninſula and ſettled a conſiderable miſſion. From what we have written it appears that Walter is very much miſinformed concerning the ſettlement of the miſſions in California, tho' without ſtirring out of Europe, he might have found a ſufficient account of them in the Lettres Edificantes, More's Hiſtorical Dictionary, and other books. The marquis de Valero when viceroy found the miſſions already eſtabliſhed, and though his generoſity and devotion are not to be called in queſtion; he never gave any thing of his own to the miſſions of California, as his glorious predeceſſor the duke de Linures had done. Walter adds, that the principal ſettlement of the jeſuits is at cape San Lucas, where they have got together a conſiderable number of Indians, and been at the pains to inſtruct them in agriculture and mechanic arts. They now make no ſmall quantity of wine, the taſte of which reſembles that of a middling Madeira. Here is another miſtake, for till the erection of the new garriſon in 1736, after the murder of the venerable fathers Carranco and Tamaral, miſſions were not re-eſtabliſhed about cape San Lucas; and the miſſions there are very inconſiderable, with regard to the number and character of their Indians. Their vintages are ſcarce worth mentioning: but a great deal of wine is brought thither for exportation, as nearly all that California produces is carried abroad; the uſe of that liquor being juſtly prohibited to the Indians.

Mr. Walter is further pleaſed to write, that the jeſuits are the only maſters of the Californian trade, that all their labours have no other view than the good of the ſociety; and that the attention of the miſſionaries is engaged about the Manilla galleon; of which their convents of the ſaid city are the principal proprietors and adventurers. For this purpoſe, he ſays, they take great care to provide all ſorts of refreſhments ready for this ſhip; and at cape San Lucas, a conſtant watch is kept to look out for any of the enemy's ſhips, who may be lying in wait for the galleon in her return from the Philippine iſlands; this being the beſt ſtation in the world to wait for her. In conſequence of theſe meaſures concerted betwixt the jeſuits of Manilla and of California; the captain of the galleon is directed to fall in with the land N. of cape San Lucas, and the inhabitants on ſight of the ſhip, are to light certain fires; and at ſight of theſe ſignals the captain ſends his long-boat aſhore with twenty men well armed, who carry the letters from the jeſuits of Manilla to their brethren of California, and bring aboard the proviſions which were kept in readineſs: as likewiſe what intelligence there may be concerning any enemies on the coaſt. If the captain by theſe advices, finds that he has nothing to apprehend, he is to proceed for cape San Lucas, thence to cape Corientes, and then coaſt it along for Acapulco.

Thus far mr. Walter, who deſerves credit, with regard to the miſſionary jeſuits of cape San Lucas, who take great care to provide refreſhments for the Philippine galleon; and he might likewiſe have added, for the reception, relief, and cure of the ſick. This office of charity and good policy, the jeſuits alone acknowledge to be below any return; at leaſt it is very unequal to the fervour of their deſires, which muſt be imputed to the extreme barrenneſs of the country. Tho' this aſſiſtance, the look-out kept at the cape, and the order for the Philippine ſhip to touch there, are not owing to any meaſures taken by the jeſuits; but to the wiſe proviſions made by the kings of Spain, who, from the commencement of the Philippine trade, ſaw the neceſſity that the ſhips ſhould have a ſecure reception in California: and this, among others, was the capital motive for the vaſt expences and powerful armaments by which they have ſo often endeavoured at the reduction of this peninſula; and for ſettling colonies and garriſons, and making harbours. I ſhall add, that the watch kept to look out for any enemies on the coaſt, and for making the ſignals to the galleon, conſiſts of the ſoldiery belonging to the new garriſon of San Lucas. This garriſon the ſociety petitioned for, as a neceſſary ſafe-guard to its miſſions; but it was in La Paz bay, within the gulf, whither the galleon could not come, that it was erected, and not at the cape. At laſt the garriſon was erected; and very wiſely the cape was the place, that it might ſerve as a receptacle for the galleons. But it was erected without any ſolicitation of the ſociety, and purely at the requeſt of the Philippines, convinced of its neceſſity by repeated damages, and a dear-bought experience. It was alſo erected by a viceroy, of whom, though bred up in the boſom of the company, none but a foreigner would advance that he followed the meaſures calculated by the jeſuits purely for their advantage. Were there no other proofs of the advantages of California, and the garriſons; the actions of this very ſquadron of Anſon's affords ſufficient, ſince California being now reduced, peopled with Spaniards, and furniſhed with garriſons, it could not ſhelter itſelf there for ſurpriſing the Philippine galleon, though the writer himſelf ſays, that it is the beſt ſtation in the world for expecting her. Yet he choſe rather to croſs all the South-ſea as far as the iſland of Tinian; and not without great danger, as another writes, placed himſelf betwixt the Marian and Philippine iſlands, in order to attack her in the ſtreights of St. Bernardino.

As to the trade of California, ſetting aſide the diving and purchaſing pearls, the manner of which I have ſhewn, and likewiſe, that the jeſuits and ſoldiers have no ſhare in it; I frankly own that the whole commerce of the peninſula is in the hands of the jeſuits. And if I ſhould not own it, the thing would declare itſelf. As for what commerce it has, what Europeans can carry it on if there are no others than jeſuits? But if mr. Walter envies us this commerce, I do moſt earneſtly deſire, in return for his compliment, that the trade of England with Spain may one day, and the ſooner the better, be equal to this. The only commodity exported from California is the little wine made here and there in miſſions, and ſold in New Spain. This is its only product, no other commodity, merchandize, or manufacture, can be exported hence, as it neither has, nor is there any hopes of its having any. On the contrary, there is ſcarce any thing for uſe or conſumption but what muſt be brought from abroad: and if for want of veſſels, by bad weather or other miſfortunes, their ſupplies are delayed, the inland miſſionaries are reduced to the nakedneſs and hunger of the Indians, and obliged to live on roots, herbs, and wild fruits. The only ſhip which has touched at the peninſula for ſome years, was the galleon from the Philippine iſlands, as we have ſeen; the captain of which in return for the refreſhments, generouſly made a preſent to the miſſionary of cape San Lucas of ſome things he had on board. This is the whole commerce, of which the jeſuits are the ſole maſters in California. Would mr. Walter wiſh that heaven would hear the prayers of him who ſhould deſire to ſee the whole traffic of England enlarged to ſuch an exalted pitch?

That the jeſuits take all theſe fatigues upon them only for the good of the ſociety, is a certain truth; and which I readily grant to mr. Walter: for the ſociety is not a detached order only for itſelf, but relative and for the public. It is originated from God, and by him was eſtabliſhed under ſuch rules, ſuch diſcipline and government as are admired even by its greateſt enemies, purely for the ſervice of his catholic church: and that its individuals ſhould faithfully ſerve the reſpective nations of which they are ſubjects, throughout the whole extent of their inſtitutes. Therefore the good of the ſociety of jeſuits is only to anſwer thoſe ends, to labour heroically in the vineyard of their maſter, without care, without hope, without deſire, and even without acceptance of any recompence, though lawful: for it labours to be uſeful to the catholic church, and likewiſe uſeful to the temporal and ſpiritual welfare of the nations, of whom they are reſpectively a part under the rules of their profeſſion. In this ſenſe indeed, the company takes on itſelf ſuch fatigues and ſolicitudes, only for its own good; that is to ſay, for the ſalvation of the ſouls of the jeſuits, and the ſpiritual and temporal good and ſalvation of their neighbours. This is their intention: this is their view; but this is not what the writer means, nor perhaps believes.

Laſtly, doubtleſs mr. Walter, zealous for the welfare of the Spaniſh nation, though an enemy, and acting in hoſtilities againſt it, ſays, that the Philippine trade is very pernicious to Spain, as the ſilks from China, and cottons from Coromandel, hinder in America the ſale and exportation of the ſilk and woollen manufactures of Valencia, and other cities in Spain; and that don Joſeph Patinho was in the year 1725, for aboliſhing this trade; but the intereſt of the jeſuits averted the blow. Could I be diverted by ſlender conſiderations, when a great advantage to our nation is called in queſtion, I ſhould be ſilent on this head, leſt it ſhould be thought that my apology for the Philippine trade proceeds from the jeſuits having, according to mr. Walter, the capital concern in it. Poſſibly he may have known that the jeſuits in treating of their miſſions being reminded of it by the very ſituation, might awaken the former anxieties, or endeavours of the Spaniſh nation, for obtaining the advantages offered to it by the Eaſt-India commerce, though well regulated betwixt the ſeveral branches of the nation; and by that political fineſſe was for impoſing upon them by this fear. However it be, this is too mean a motive to make any impreſſion on me. Theſe are facts know in Aſia, America, and Europe; of a nature not to be hid; and of which any one may eaſily acquire information. The bare aſſertion of mr. Walter will not preponderate againſt the ſight of the whole world, and eſpecially in facts of which he could be no witneſs. On the other hand, the equitable part of our nation, for whom I write, will do juſtice to my candour and good intention: and though they may not agree with my ſentiments, I promiſe myſelf that they will, at leaſt, not ſuſpect me of having any other view than the ſervice of God, and the welfare of the public.

On this account I find myſelf obliged briefly to ſay, that I forbear declaring, whether on the preſent footing the trade from the Philippine iſlands be pernicious to Spain or not; but that there is no method or way whereby not only the preſent minute commerce, but even one intirely greater, may be ſo modelled, as not to be pernicious either to the crown in general, whoſe ſubjects the inhabitants of both parts are, or in particular to Old Spain, is what I cannot believe. What thoſe meaſures may be, is as foreign to my province as it is above my capacity. What I know is, that in the reign of Charles V. Spain ſaw itſelf at the height of its proſperity. The number of its towns and inhabitants, which is the baſis of the happineſs of a ſtate, was much greater: not only the cities, but the ſmalleſt places ſwarmed with people and manufactures. The products of the country were double; and the ſame increaſe was ſeen in the cattle. Spain carried on a trade of its own commodities and in its own ſhips into Italy, France, England, Flanders, and the north; had in all places Spaniſh merchants and factors, as may be ſeen in the ordinances of the conſulado, or court of merchants at Burgos: likewiſe vaſt cargoes for the Indies; and theſe chiefly conſiſted of its own products and manufactures, the ſtaple of which was Toledo, where they were laid up as in a general magazine; conſequently the profits of commerce, the money, and other amazing riches of the Indies remained within the nation, without, or at leaſt, very little of it being diſſipated among ſtrangers, by a detrimental commerce. Even then ſubſiſted in their full vigour, the wiſe regulations of the catholic kings in favour of the domeſtic and foreign active commerce and navigation of Spain; which were in ſubſtance the ſame as thoſe to which other nations owe their commerce and naval power. Such were the erecting of new docks, the encouragement of all naval arts, the appointing of rewards for ſhip building; procuring timber and cordage; giving privileges to thoſe of great burthen, and ſtowing the cargoes with admirable order; aboliſhing the abuſes and vexations of the cuſtoms and port fees; iſſuing equitable ordinances concerning

ing all trades and callings within the kingdom, and cauſing them to be ſtrictly obſerved; removing the incumbrances of the multiplicity of juriſdictions; ſecuring the roads by the Santas Hermandades*; frequently rectifying the coin; ſupporting, but not multiplying holidays; ſuppreſſing tolls and duties of great vexation to the ſubject, and little advantage to the public; lowering the cuſtoms and duties; and ſetting them particularly in books of rates drawn up with great perſpicuity, to prevent all frauds and extortions; to lay a duty of half as much more on the importation of home goods, except unwrought goods, and a few others; ordering at ſome ports, that on bringing in goods to the kingdom, ſecurity ſhould be given to carry out the value in other goods of the country; to put cities and provinces on an equal footing in commercial advantages, as near as poſſible; to promote every where a plenty of the uſual proviſions, by regulating the prices of them; to oblige the heads of the nation, the magiſtrates of cities, and the nobility of the kingdom to a ſteady and rigorous execution of theſe orders; and many

---

* A brotherhood in Spain, inſtituted in times of great confuſion to ſuppreſs robbers; and continues to this day, by which traveling is very ſafe, the brotherhood being ſpread through all Spain.

other

others relating to all political affairs: by which for many years the body of the monarchy ſubſiſted in ſuch power, extent, and glory, as excited the rage and jealouſy of all Europe. This was the conſtitution of the nation in the time of Charles V. and by this it ſupported with honour, the great enterprizes and immenſe expenditures, ſometimes neceſſary, ſometimes voluntary, of that enterpriſing monarch. Notwithſtanding this great proſperity of Spain at that time, it was then and in the ſubſequent years, that the repeated endeavours before-mentioned for ſecuring a part of the Eaſt-India commerce on the ſide of America were made. It was not then held a detriment to the commerce of Old Spain in America, to bring hither the ſpices, and other goods from the iſlands and eaſtern coaſt of Aſia; and this at a time when Spain had ſuch a vaſt ſurplus for ſale; and when its ſhips and large caravilas went to moſt parts of the world loaded with its products and manufactures. Why may not the ſame thing happen again: even if Spain had more goods for exportation than at preſent; and its own ſhips be loaded with them, and not thoſe of foreigners, as is now chiefly the caſe? At that time the conſumers in America were few, and might eaſily be ſupplied with goods from Spain. At preſent their numbers are great; Spain cannot ſupport them. At that time the manufactures and products of Spain were many; at preſent few; then the ſilver and gold came at laſt to the Spaniſh artificers and workmen; now at ſecond-hand to foreigners: then there was no commercial rivalry in Aſia, except with the Portugueſe, and they were our friends, and as it were our brethren. At preſent all nations have aſſumed their parts. Neverthelеſs at that time the valuable commerce of the Eaſt-Indies was thought worth purſuing by ſuch a variety of meaſures. And ſhall we be brought to think, that the Spaniſh nation cannot by any means reſtore it; that in its preſent ſtate it is very pernicious, and that ſmall as it is ſhould be relinquiſhed, without attention to the great opportunities of increaſing it?

So mr. Walter thinks; and I believe he would be not a little pleaſed, could he infuſe the ſame notions among the Spaniards. As to his own nation I obſerve that in his narrative, he very magnificently ſets forth the advantage accruing to it from the commerce with China and the whole coaſt of the Eaſt Indies, and dwells on the great importance to the Britiſh crown, of ſupporting and increaſing their ſettlements in thoſe parts. On the other hand we have ſeen the ſtrenuous endeavours of the

Engliſh in ſeeking a ſhorter paſſage thither from England, and the advantages which would reſult from ſuch a diſcovery. Beſides, the ardent emulation betwixt the Engliſh and French Eaſt India companies proves how very far thoſe two nations are from thinking that their Eaſt Indian trade hurts their European.

According to this, who will believe that the prodigious commerce of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies, is an extreme advantage to the crown of Great Britain, which deluges the world with goods, ſtuffs and manufactures of all kinds; and at the ſame time muſt on the contrary be perſuaded that the annual trade of a ſingle ſhip from the Philippines is not only at preſent pernicious (which I proteſt againſt) and hurtful to the crown of Spain, becauſe the ſilks of China and cottons of Coromandel hinder the vent of the few ſilks and ſtuffs made in Valencia and the other cities of Spain; but likewiſe that no meaſures can be taken for carrying on a commerce with the Eaſt Indies by the way of the Philippine iſlands, that ſhall not be detrimental to Old Spain. Not only England, but Holland, France, Sweden, Denmark and Pruſſia, are every day puſhing their commerce in the Eaſt Indies: yet the Chineſe ſilks and Coromandel cottons are not ſeen to clog the ſale of their own linens and ſtuffs, great quantities both of the one and the other being imported to Spain in exchange for the money we receive from America. Portugal, which is a part of Spain, carries on an advantageous trade to the Eaſt Indies, but not what it might. Like Spain it has poſſeſſions in America, where it alſo has a large conſumption of Aſiatick goods, which come much cheaper than thoſe of Europe; and is the crown of Spain the only one which cannot follow ſuch an example, and take the meaſures pointed out to it by all the other nations of Europe, when it has a greater conveniency than all of them?

I am apt to think that Mr. Walter would be very glad if the Spaniards would give over the trade from Manilla, and abandon the Philippine iſlands themſelves, as without an American and European trade, they could not be maintained; that in the mean time the Engliſh ſhould find out the ſo much deſired paſſage to the South ſea, by the north of America and above California: which paſſage is not univerſally denied, and one day may be found; that they may fortify themſelves on both ſides of this paſſage, and thus extend the Engliſh dominions from the north to the ſouth of America, ſo as to border on our poſſeſſions. Should Engliſh colonies and garriſons be eſtabliſhed along the coaſt of America, on the South ſea beyond cape Mendocino or lower down on California itſelf: his nation would then without controul reign miſtreſs of this ſea and its commerce, and be able to threaten by land and ſea the territories of Spain; invade them on occaſion from the E. W. N. and S.; hem them in and preſs them on all ſides. But through the divine mercy, and the new ſpirit which the wiſe government of the preſent moſt auſpicious reign has diffuſed among all ranks in the nation, it is greatly to be hoped that ſuch meaſures will continue to be taken on the South ſea and northern parts of America as will fruſtrate any deſigns which may be forming by other nations, who owe their power and grandeur to our neglects.

What Walter affirms of don Joſeph Patinho, is abſolutely falſe: and I queſtion whether the Engliſh who have had many occaſions of being acquainted with the character of that miniſter, can eaſily believe that in the year 1725, he was for aboliſhing the trade to the Philippine iſlands. About that time very warm diſputes were carried on betwixt the merchants of the Philippines and thoſe of New Spain, concerning the tonnage, quantity and quality of the galleon's cargo. But that this circumſpect and wiſe miniſter, who was very far from regulating the general concerns of the crown by the conteſts of a few traders, ſhould have thought of extinguiſhing this commerce, is an aſſertion entirely groundleſs. But that the intereſt of the ſociety of jeſuits averted the blow, is a downright falſity. Don Joſeph Patinho was incapable of being carried away by any influence whatſoever, ſo as to do, or permit to be done, in affairs of ſuch weight, what others thought fit. Likewiſe in all thoſe mighty debates the ſociety, as may be demonſtrated, did not in the leaſt interfere. After all, if this miniſter ſhould ever have entertained a thought of this nature, relating to the commerce of the Eaſt Indies, the reader will be pleaſed to contraſt ſuch a judgment, with the opinion * attributed to the ſagacious cardinal Alberoni, who, a few years before, was miniſter to the ſame prince; and to whom the worthy Mr. Patinho chiefly owed his preferment.

---

* Part III. Sect. XIII.

FINIS.